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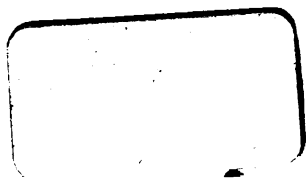
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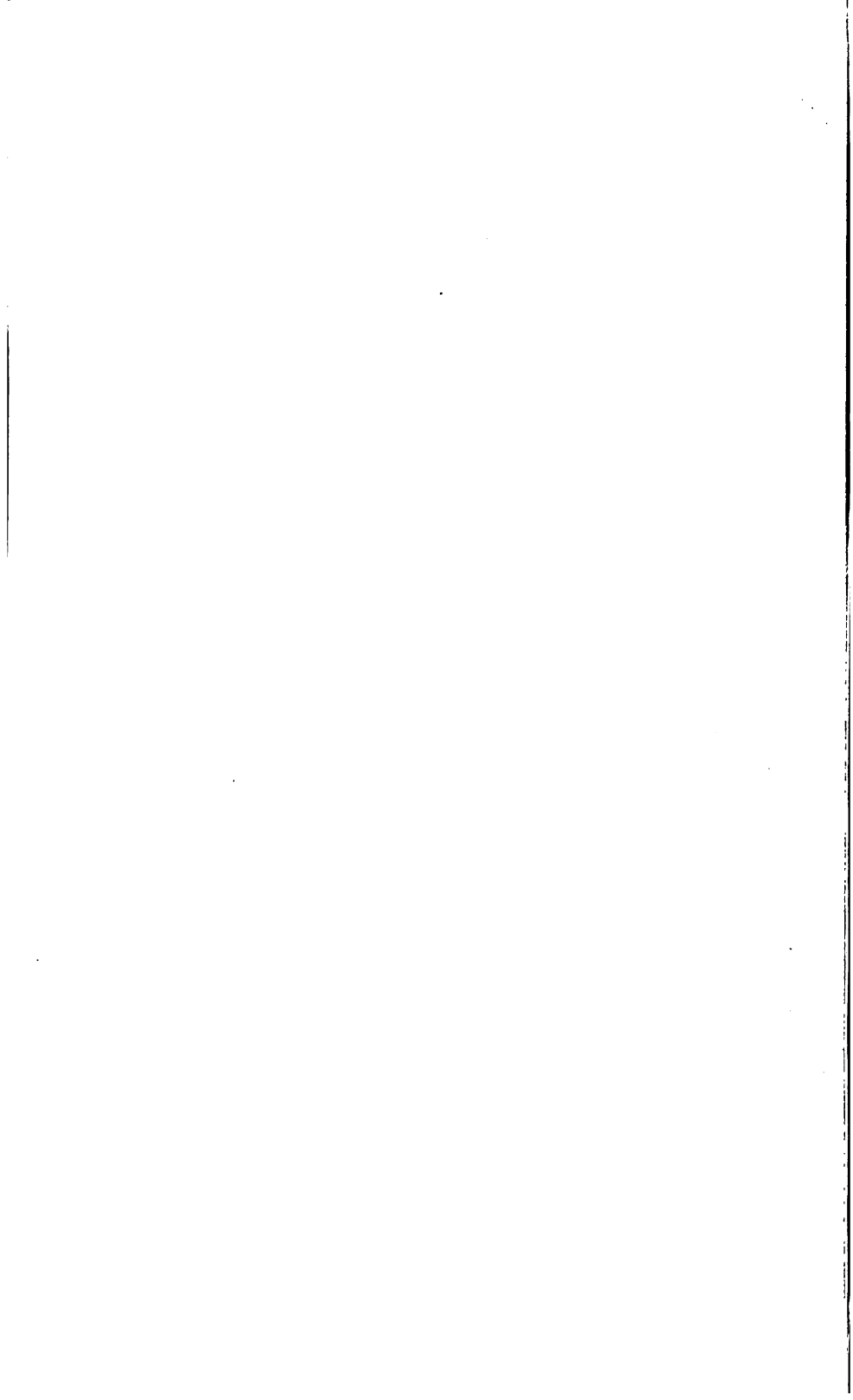
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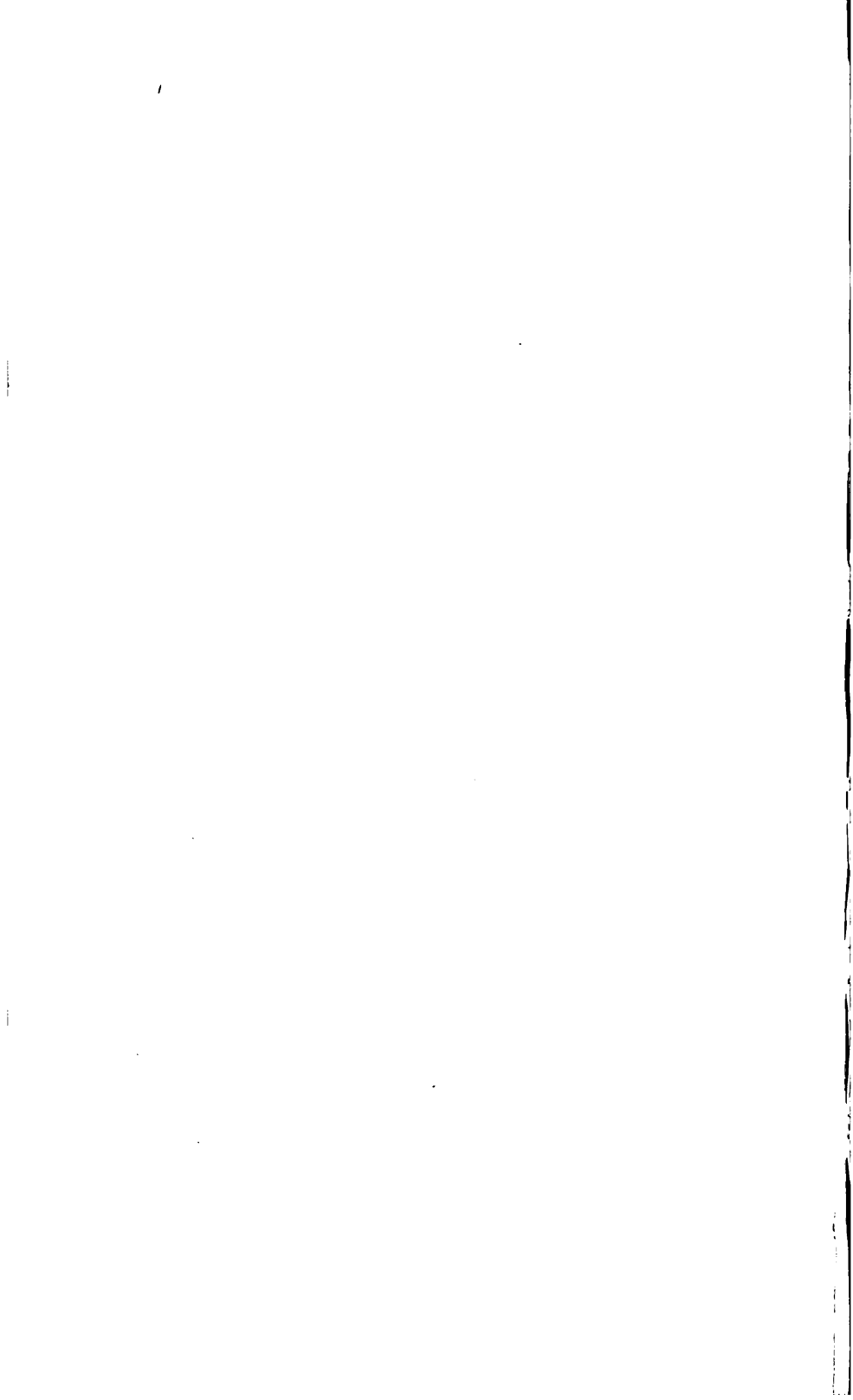
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(Surrey)
Malden







HISTORY OF SURREY



POPULAR COUNTY HISTORIES

A

HISTORY OF SURREY

BY

HENRY ELLIOT MALDEN, M.A.

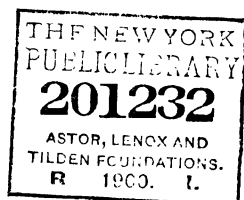
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PREFACE.

A HISTORY upon this scale is not intended to compete with the stupendous folios of Manning and Bray, nor with the voluminous gossip of Aubrey's "Perambulation." Neither is it exactly similar in its objects. It aspires to give a brief general view of the history of the county, not of each place in the county, to notice events of general importance in English history which occurred in the county, and to illustrate phases of English history by examples taken from Surrey.

Unlike some other counties, Surrey never corresponded to the territory of a people nor of a tribe. When it was a kingdom it was an insignificant dependent State, and only one of its kinglets has been remembered by name. It probably owed its separate existence to its position as a dependency of London, and it bids fair to become a rural suburb of London. But its position near London and the South Coast made striking events to happen in it. Every army, for instance, which ever approached London from the South had to march through Surrey. For many reasons local history is important. It is a long step towards understanding any history to realize historical

Friend June 1. 1900

events, and one help to realization is the possibility of considering them in connexion with well-known places. If there is any life in the following pages, it is partly owing to their having been begun under the shadow of the finest British camp in Surrey, and completed in view of her finest castle, and within a stone's-throw of the Pilgrims' Way. My object will have been largely accomplished if I can make other inhabitants of Surrey realize a little more clearly the past life of their own neighbourhoods.

I find it impossible to mention all the kind help which I have received. My acknowledgments are especially due to Mr. Hall, of H.M. Record Office, to many writers in the *Sussex and Surrey Archæological Societies' Transactions*, and to the representatives of the late Rev. T. R. O'Flahertie, sometime Vicar of Capel, for the use of his papers. To his memory I am proud to dedicate a work too brief and imperfect to have satisfied his great learning, but dealing with a subject in which he was profoundly interested.

H. E. MALDEN.





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CORRIGENDUM.

Page 59, line 11, *for* "1,830 hides," *read* "about 2,000 hides."





HISTORY OF SURREY.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE county of Surrey forms a very irregular four-sided figure, rather under forty miles in its greatest extent from west to east, from twenty-six to twenty miles from north to south, lying along the southern shore of the Thames, with London at its north-east, and Windsor just beyond the north-west corner. It contains 485,129 acres—that is, four times the size of Rutland, less than one-eighth of Yorkshire, and about the same size as Worcestershire and Westmorland. The Thames forms a natural boundary to the north, but with the exception of one stretch of about eight miles, where in the west the Blackwater, in the bottom below Chobham Ridges, separates the county from Hampshire, it can scarcely be said to have now any natural boundary elsewhere.

From its situation and its name we can see at a glance how Surrey differs in its origin from many other counties. It is not a district naturally marked off as the home of a people or tribe such as Sussex, which lay between the forest and the sea, with woods and marshes defining the limits of its coast-line in the west and east. It is not like Cumberland, or like Cornwall, the last relic of a Welsh

kingdom, nor like Northumberland, nor like Chester, frontier districts of peculiar history.

It neither preserves the primitive name of a district, like Kent, nor the name of early English peoples, like the Northfolk; the Southfolk, or the East Saxons. Neither is it one of the shires, named after a fortress capital, like the shires which fill up the middle of England, counties which were probably deliberately created as administrative districts by the West Saxon rulers who had conquered the Danes.

The early versions of its name, Sothereye, in Robert of Gloucester, Suðrige or Suðrege, in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, point to the meaning of the Southern kingdom or realm, from the Anglo-Saxon *rice*, a kingdom, the termination of the word "bishopric." The same origin is borne out by the derivatives Suthregienses, used for the men of Surrey by Florence of Worcester, or Sudrigenses, used by Henry of Huntingdon, who calls the county Sudreia.

Camden, probably wrongly, derives the name from that primitive word for a river which we find in several English rivers, Rea, and in the Church of St. Mary Overie, at the foot of London Bridge, and he explains it as "the Land South of the River." Even were Camden right, the conclusion would be the same that we come to from the true derivation, that the district was named by people who lived north of the Thames. The Mercians had some reason for distinguishing the country directly south and south-west of London from the country also under their rule in Kent, and also from other West Saxon lands. Surrey, as named, is an appendage to something greater to the north of it.

At the present day the county is, in fact, the most delightful rural suburb of London, increasingly studded with country houses, which belong to those who are desirous of combining a dwelling in beautiful country with ready access to London. The north-eastern parts of it are daily encroached upon by the growing cancer of brickwork which, settling upon the beauties of woods and downs, gradually

devours them, and overlays them with a monotonous hideousness of streets. It is likely that also, in the beginning, we owe the fact of Surrey being a district with a name of its own, to the existence of London upon its north-east border. London owed its importance to its natural advantages. It was the lowest point down the river where a bridge was practicable for early engineering. It was perhaps in the neighbourhood of the lowest ford, dangerous and difficult, but passable at low-water, before a bridge was built. It offered the choice of several small ports and landing-places, *hithes* or *hards*, Dowgate, the Fleet, Queenhithe, Rotherhithe, Lambeth, along the river. Lastly, it was readily defensible on the land side, the low hills at the head of London Bridge and where St. Paul's stands being covered by streams and marshes. A district south of this military and commercial centre depended upon it, and from its proximity to London had a different fortune from the country lower down or higher up the course of the river. The subsequent extension and delimitations of the boundaries of the county depended upon events to which we shall come presently, events which separated Surrey from its original connexions, and made it part of a kingdom and diocese south of the Thames.

To borrow an analogy from Roman geography and history, Middlesex, in relation to London, answers to the *Ager Romanus*, next to the walls of Rome, south of the Tiber. Surrey answers to the *Ager Romanus* north of the Tiber, between the Janiculum and the territory of Veii, which the Romans lost in the war with Porsena, but which subsequently became and is now a principal part of the city of Rome. In each case the territory on the opposite side of the river had an original connexion with the great city, which it lost for a time.

The county as it now exists has no common physical character. It consists of five districts, geologically distinguished from each other, with natural features varying in consequence. Indeed, the rapid alterations of scenery,

produced by the occurrence of varying soils and their respective growths in a comparatively small area, help largely to give the county its reputation as the most picturesque of Southern England. A good walker can in the course of a few hours pass through several distinct types of country, and back again. The bicyclist passes rapidly through more changes, but sees less.

In the north of the county, along the valley of the Thames, from the border of Kent to the valleys where the Mole and Wey, running in a general direction of south to north, approach each other closely before entering the Thames, we find the London Clay and the Lower London Tertiaries. This belt of clay is, roughly speaking, about ten miles wide. But at its south-western corner it tapers off in a long strip, running westward, past Ockham, Stoke-next-Guildford, and Aldershot, into Hampshire. This westward extension of the clay narrows down from five to four, and finally to not two miles in width. Northward of it are the Bagshot Beds, uplands of barren sands, crowned on their higher points by fir-trees and heather, extending across the Wey Valley, which they separate from the Mole by the height called St. George's Hill, and reappearing in an advanced buttress east of the Mole Valley too, between Esher and Cobham, about Claremont Park and Esher Common. The Chobham Ridges, the rising ground about Aldershot and Bisley, St. Ann's Hill, near Chertsey, and Bagshot Heath, on the borders of Surrey and Berkshire, belong to the Bagshot Beds, though gravel crowns the true Bagshot Sand in several places.

Across the middle of the county the line of the chalk uplands reaches from Farnham to the borders of Kent. From Farnham to Guildford the chalk hills make a strikingly narrow ridge called the Hog's Back. At Guildford, to the east of the Wey, the formation begins to broaden out. To the south, the hills continue to present a steep escarpment, looking like a wall drawn from west to east along the edge of the Weald below. Northwards they spread out wider and wider, in what used to be rolling downs, like a

miniature Salisbury Plain, but with a surface now largely cultivated and planted. The chalk formation reaches its greatest breadth, of about ten miles, on the borders of Kent, in the extreme east of Surrey. East and West Clandon, Letherhead, Epsom, Cheam and Croydon lie in a line, from south-west to north-east, along the northern edge of the chalk; though the villages actually stand partly on the Woolwich and Reading Beds, bordering the chalk. Farnham, Guildford, Dorking, Merstham, Woldingham and Tatsfield are in a line, first west to east, then inclining slightly north of east, on or near the southern edge of the chalk, though not all actually upon it. The Hog's Back, Merrow Downs, Box Hill, Betchworth Clump, Epsom Downs, Banstead Downs, Walton Heath, Caterham and Coulsdon Commons, White Hill, and the highest points of all near Flint House and Coldharbour Green, near Tatsfield, are among the highlands of the chalk of Surrey. But at Walton Heath and Caterham the chalk is crowned by deposits of brick-earth and gravel.

Along the southern edge of the chalk is the narrow band of the Upper Greensand formation, then a similar line of Gault, which are both rich soils, and then the Lower Greensand. The last widens out till it fills the whole of the south-west corner of the county, near Haslemere. Its southern boundary is turned abruptly northward in successive steps, as it were, near Haslemere, Hascombe and Holmwood respectively, so that the edge of the formation runs first north, then east, then north, then east, then north again, till by Dorking it takes a generally eastern direction parallel to the chalk behind it. Its greatest breadth is more than ten miles, in the west side of the county; its least, less than half a mile, between Dorking and Betchworth. The Lower Greensand furnishes more striking features to Surrey scenery than any of the other geological formations. The great buttresses of this soil, which jut out from the chalk over the south-west portion of the county, rise into heights like Hindhead, 894 feet above the sea, and Leith

Hill, 967 feet above the sea, the latter being the highest point in South-East England.¹ The southern and eastern declivities of this formation slope abruptly down to the Wealden Clay, about 200 feet below, so that the heights are evident and the views from them correspondingly striking. The general tendency of the chalk range is to get higher towards the east of the county. Albury Downs are 600 feet above the sea, White Down, north of Wotton, 744, the down north of Reigate 767, north of Blechingley 775, north of Limpsfield 876, which is the summit. The Greensand, on the contrary, is higher towards the west. The highest point, Leith Hill, 967 feet, is in the centre of the county, but Tilburstow Hill, the highest point in the east, is only 591, and west of Leith Hill, besides the actual summits named, there are considerable tracts of sand at from 600 feet to 750 feet above the sea.

Hindhead and Leith Hill, with the lesser heights of Crooksbury, St. Martha's Hill, Highdown Ball, Hascombe Beeches, Ewhurst Hill, Holmbury Hill, Coldharbour Common and Anstiebury—and all the latter are from 450 feet to 850 feet above the sea—give the whole district the appearance of a miniature Highland country. The hills are often covered with heather, and the steep-sided narrow valleys among them, and the deep lanes which run between nearly perpendicular banks of sand, are picturesque in the extreme. This country is not agriculturally productive, but the lower slopes on the edge of the formation are often well watered, and improve rapidly under cultivation.

South and east of the sand lies the Wealden Clay, which reaches beyond the borders of the county into Sussex and eastward into Kent. The Oak-tree Clay it is sometimes called, for the oak flourishes upon it particularly, and once covered the whole of it with a sparsely inhabited forest. It is not so healthy as the sand or chalk, nor so productive as

¹ The name Leith Hill is tautological. It is the A.S. "hlið," a brow or slope, connected etymologically with *clivus*. There is another Leith, or Lythe, Hill near Haslemere.

the borders of these two formations can be made; but it contains in places ironstone, which gave once an active industry to the county, and may again alter its character from a farming and residential to a mining and manufacturing district, should the search for Wealden Coal be completely successful. All the Wealden soils beyond the chalk contain iron, more or less.

The south-eastern part of the clay in Surrey is known as Holmesdale, though the name seems to have been sometimes confined to the country immediately south of Dorking and Reigate, sometimes to have been extended to include parts of Sussex and Kent, sometimes to have been still more narrowly confined to the stretch of Upper Greensand and Gault from Dorking to the borders of Kent. When well spoken of as a fruitful soil, it means this last only. In the extreme south-east of the county, south of Burstow and Lingfield villages, occur the Hastings Beds. These are on the outskirts of the higher land which slopes upwards and towards Ashdown Forest in Sussex. Copthorne Common and Beacon Heath are on the Hastings Beds in Surrey.

Surrey is not rich in rivers of any size. The Thames, it is true, flows for about forty miles along its northern border, but the Thames is not the river of one county, and its tributaries in Surrey are not large. The Blackwater, named from the effects in its stream of the peat bogs, flows from near Aldershot northwards, and forms part of the western boundary of the county, till the stream turns further west, from Chobham Ridges and East Hampstead Plain, to likewise divide Berkshire and Hampshire. The Wey—that is, the *Water*, in the Celtic tongue, often spelt “Wye” in earlier records—runs out of Hampshire into Surrey, near Farnham. Thence it pursues a very tortuous course, southward and eastward through the sand formations, receiving the southern drainage from the Hog’s Back, the northern drainage of Hindhead and the neighbouring sand-hills. Near Godalming it begins to turn generally northward, in a broadening

alluvial valley, often overflowed in the winter. At Shalford it receives from the east the waters of the Tillingbourne, which drains the northern side of the Leith Hill range. It passes through the chalk downs at Guildford, and continues in a northerly direction, past Byfleet, to the Thames near Weybridge, below Chertsey. It divides the London Clays and the outlying buttresses of the Bagshot Sands with a broad strip of alluvial deposits. Just above the point where the Wey enters the Thames, the Bourne brook, draining the Bagshot Beds, falls into the same river.

The Mole, rising in the high ground covered by the Hastings Beds in Sussex, runs in many branches through the Wealden Clay, receiving small affluents on both sides, till north of Leigh, between the Holmwood Common and Reigate, it turns westward past Betchworth to Dorking. There it, like the Wey, passes through the chalk downs, and flows past Letherhead and Stoke d'Abernon north-westward, as if to meet the Wey. But, interrupted in its course by the high ground near Cobham and St. George's Hill, it turns directly northward to the Thames, which it joins at East Moulsey. The name of the Mole is popularly connected with the *Swallows*, or holes in the porous calcareous soil, in which in dry seasons its waters disappear between Dorking and Letherhead. But the alternative name which it bears, the Emlyn stream, suggests a derivation from the Celtic *melin*, a mill, itself a certain derivative from the Latin *molina*, and it probably merely means the Mill-stream. Apart from mere brooks, like the Hog's Mill River, which runs from near Ashted to Kingston, the Wandle, which rises in Banstead Downs and drains the northern side of the chalk hills, falling into the Thames at Wandsworth, or Wandlesworth, is the only other tributary of the Thames in Surrey. The upper waters of the Medway, consisting of branches rising in both Surrey and Sussex, traverse the extreme south-eastern corner of the county before entering Kent. From the southern and western

slopes of the Leith Hill range the drainage is towards the Arun basin, and the streams which rise in Coldharbour Common, close to Leith Hill, may claim to be the highest branch of that river, the farthest from the sea, and the highest above it. Near Okewood they join the little stream of the Oke, an affluent of the Arun, which preserves yet another of the primitive Celtic words for water, occurring also in another Oke near Godalming, and in the Berkshire Ock and the Devonshire Oke. The most ancient language of a country constantly survives in the river names. It is remarkable that, like the rivers of Sussex, two of the principal Surrey streams, the Wey and the Mole, run at right angles to the line of chalk hills, and go through them, recalling the time when the chalk stretched in an unbroken mass across the Weald, and the water cut down into it in fissures to the north and south. The gaps in the chalk at Guildford and at Dorking are made by the rivers. Northwards, from near Redhill to Croydon, there runs a dry valley in the chalk called Smitham Bottom, utilized by the South-Eastern and Brighton Railways, which looks like another river-bed from which the stream has vanished. Unlike the true river valleys, however, it does not cut right through the chalk. Both the Wey and the Mole in their lower courses constantly overflow the neighbouring low lands. But while the Wey, charged with the sands of the heaths and hills of West Surrey, and barely touching the narrow belt of chalk through which it flows at Guildford, acts prejudicially upon its flooded lands, the Mole, turbid with the Wealden Clay, and heavily charged with the débris of the calcareous strata through which it burrows between Dorking and Letherhead, acts as a fertilizer where it overflows. All the brooks from the Leith Hill range, which find their way in different directions, by the Tillingbourne into the Wey, into the Mole and into the Arun, are more or less tinged with iron from the ferruginous sands that occur in the hills.

The Wealden Clay in Surrey, and apparently part of the

Lower Greensand in West Surrey, was formerly covered by the great forest called Andredesweald, which extended also over the whole interior of Sussex and great part of Kent. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells us that it was 120 miles long and 30 miles broad. Thirty miles may represent the greatest width, but the length is hard to make out, unless the forest reached from near Folkestone up to and over the sand of West Sussex and on to the chalk of Hampshire. This western part might be wild, uninhabited country, but could hardly be forest in the same sense as the thick oak woods of the Weald. Indeed, the boundaries of the forest are a little uncertain. Lambarde, the Kentish historian of Elizabeth's reign, tells us that "a man may more reasonably maintain that there is no Weald at all, than certainly pronounce where it beginneth or maketh an end." In legal language, according to Arthur Young ("Agriculture of Sussex"), the Weald means the woodland districts in the counties of Sussex, Kent and Surrey, in which woodlands pay no tithe. The obligation of proof that woodland had ever paid tithe lay in this district on the Rector, while in other places the owner had to prove exemption. In 1692 there was a lawsuit about tithes at Charte, in the parish of Frensham, on the Lower Greensand of Surrey, west of Hindhead, and close to the Hampshire border. It was decided that the woodland here was exempt from tithe, being in the Weald. If the forest, in any sense, extended into this neighbourhood it must have been connected with Alderholt, or Alice Holt Wood, and with Woolmer Forest in Hampshire. Generally speaking, however, the boundary of the thickly-wooded country must have run along the geological border of the Wealden Clay and the Lower Greensand.

South of this line the marks of ancient habitation are few and scattered, while the terminations *hurst*, *wood*, *holt*, *den*, *fold*, are of frequent occurrence in local names. The first three mean wood or copse. *Den* is a lair of beasts, apparently of pigs who fed on the acorns. *Fold* is an en-

closure in the forest.¹ These names are extremely common all over the clay district of Surrey, and, though not unknown on the sand, or even chalk, are much less common there.

Two manors only are named in Domesday Book upon the clay in Surrey, Ockley and Eversheds, both on the line of a Roman road, and therefore accessible from north and south. Another possible indication of comparatively late settlement in the Weald is that the extremely ancient system of cultivation of common fields is not known to have existed there.²

The name of the forest, the *Anderida Silva* of the Romans, is primitive, and perhaps meant in Celtic the "uninhabited place." When oaks grew thickly among the underwood on the stiff clay; when the frequent rain of an uncleared country, unable to percolate through the impervious soil, and preserved from evaporation by the trees, made swamps in every hollow; when the broken trees and boughs lay where they fell, blocking up watercourses and still more closely entangling the masses of brambles; when beavers dammed the streams and wolves lurked in the thickets, the country would be impenetrable to man, except at the cost of time and labour, which a sparse population, finding ample room upon the more open and drier sand and chalk, would have no incentive to bestow. Only gradually would outlaws and the broken relics of conquered tribes find a refuge in the Weald, living as hunters. By degrees, the less inaccessible parts of the forest were utilized for the feeding of herds of swine upon the acorns. On the southern outskirts of the Weald in Kent and Sussex, iron had been found and worked, before the coming of the Romans, and much later the same industry led to inroads upon the forest in Surrey, and a gradual clearance of the ground to provide fuel for the furnaces.

But the existence of the forest as a practically uninhabited

¹ The lists of such names given by Canon Isaac Taylor, "Words and Places," p. 245, are very incomplete.

² See below, Chapter XX.

tract for many hundreds of years was an important factor in directing the course of the history of Surrey. It settled that its connexions should be with north, east, and west, but not with the south, from which the forest cut it off effectually.

To the north-west of Surrey there was another sparsely inhabited district. In the midst of the barren moors of the Bagshot Sand, we find only one Domesday manor, Chobham, though other places are mentioned within the edges of this formation. In the lower part of the Wey Valley and on its borders, and along the course of the Thames near the mouths of the Wey and Mole, there are plenty of local names denoting woods and swamps. Evidently the district was wild and sparsely settled. It was all for long a purlieu of Windsor Forest, and this extension of the Forest of Windsor was plausible, because much of this north-western district was always wild, thinly inhabited land, indistinguishable in character from the neighbouring forest proper.

On the other side of the county, to the north-east, the names of Norwood, Selhurst, Forest Hill, recall the existence of woods, which were not yet entirely done away with in living memory, and which covered the hills between Croydon and the marshes of the Thames Valley. These two wild districts may have had their influence in helping to fix the western and eastern limits respectively of the county.

Camden quotes a description of Surrey likening it to a coarse cloth with a green border, "the inner part of the county being barren, the outer, or as it were the *hemme*, more fruitful." In the vicissitudes of time the coarse centre, the region of the chalk and sand hills, has become valuable as a residential country, full of highly rated houses, while though the *hemme* to the north has become more valuable, it is from the growth of London, not from the richness of the soil. The *hemme* in the south shows derelict farms, and land let sometimes at five shillings an acre.

The most ancient inhabitants of this island, the palæolithic men, have left few traces of their presence in Surrey,

except in the gravel deposits of the Thames Valley, where palæolithic flints are occasionally to be found in the company of bones of *Elephas primigenius*, the Irish elk, and other animals of a remote age. Some palæolithic flints have also lately been discovered near Farnham and Guildford, and a considerable number are said to have been found some years ago at Peasemars, near the river above Guildford, but some doubt rests upon the authenticity of these.

Neolithic flints are fairly common at many places in the county, whether manufactured on the spot or brought from the central factories, as we may call them, of such tools and weapons, near the great camps on the South Downs, such as Cissbury. The North Downs, however, supplied an inexhaustible store of material, nearer at hand; and when first taken out of the chalk the flint is comparatively soft and easily shaped. The flints deposited all over the surface of all the Wealden soils from the long-vanished chalk above them have become harder from exposure. A considerable number of arrow-heads, scrapers, and flakes have been found by the writer near Leith Hill, in sufficient quantity to suggest that there was a settlement of flint-workers upon the sand, who brought their materials from the chalk, four miles distant. A very fine polished celt found near the same spot is preserved in a house in the neighbourhood. Many neolithic flints are also found near the Chantry Woods, Guildford, and all along the line of the Pilgrims' Way. Other flints, both palæolithic and neolithic, have been found near Tilford.

Some bronze celts have also been discovered, notably some near Waverley and Crooksbury Hill,¹ and at Wanborough, Coombe Wood, Farley Heath, and Cæsar's Camp, Aldershot. Urn burial has been found near Merrow Downs and at Croydon, among other places.²

On the chalk formation in Surrey are both round and

¹ This discovery was recorded in the *Illustrated London News*, June 27, 1857.

² Surrey Archæological Society, *Transactions*, 1896.

long barrows, in no great numbers, except near Addington, where twenty-five formerly existed near each other, but their contents have proved, as a rule, of little interest. On the sand and other formations are a few barrows, generally small, and rifled long ago of any contents. The sand does not retain the sharp outlines of old work which remains so clearly in the chalk. The best of the sand-barrows is in Deerleap Wood, near Wotton, and there is another on the Upper Greensand north of Oxted, called the Mount. There are, or were, several barrows on Wimbledon Common. On St. Martha's Hill are three curious earth-circles, the relics very possibly of primitive worship. On the chalk south of Effingham and Bookham, and in some other places, are pits which may be collapsed dene-holes, the storehouses of primitive people. The name has led to all sorts of unlucky guesses of connexion with the Danes.

The prehistoric remains of the county are scattered in many museums and private collections. One of the best collections of flints from West Surrey is that in the Charterhouse School Museum. Many of them were found in the neighbourhood, on the sand south of the Hog's Back. Others are in the Surrey Archæological Society's Museum at Guildford.





CHAPTER II.

THE BRITONS AND THE ROMAN CONQUEST.

WHEN we have left the remains of primitive man, and have come to written records, we are confronted with a question about the earliest British inhabitants of Surrey whose name remains. Were they, as Camden says, the Regni, or were they, as seems more probable, a branch of the Atrebates or other Belgæ?

Cæsar, our earliest authority, tells us that part of the South of Britain, over against Gaul, had been occupied by Belgic tribes from the Continent before his time, but not long before it.

Among these tribes were certainly those who were known as the Belgæ of Britain, and the Atrebates. The latter was the name of a tribe of the Gallic Belgæ also. Their communications with their fellow-countrymen upon the Continent gave an excuse—perhaps a reason—for Cæsar's invasion of the island, and facilitated the enterprise. Cæsar himself does not give us the names of the Belgæ and the Atrebates. He says generally that the peoples on the two sides of the Channel were the same, and gives us the name Cantium, which is Kent, occupied by the Cantii. But he gives us no names of any other tribes who can certainly be placed south of the Thames, except the Segontiaci. In the same connexion in which he mentions them he names the Cenomani, Ancalites, Bibroci and Cassi, who all, with

the Segontiaci, sought his alliance against Cassivelaunus, and were therefore possibly subdivisions of the Atrebates and Belgæ. The Segontiaci have especially some claim to be considered Atrebates, for at Silchester, which was called by the Romans Calleva Atrebatum, a Latin inscription has been found to the Segontiac Hercules. The Segontiac branch of the Atrebates were on the western border of Surrey, even if they did not extend into the county west of the Wey.

The names and localities of the Atrebates, the Belgæ, and the Regni, all tribes living to the south of the Thames, are first given to us by the geographer Ptolemy, who flourished early in the second century of our era. He enumerates the British tribes in order, from west to east, and then back from east to west, in roughly parallel lines. After working down thus from the north, he continues as follows:

"Again, south of the tribes enumerated, westernmost are the Demetæ. More eastern than these are the Silures,"—who we know were the people west of the Severn, in part of South Wales and the adjacent English counties. "Next to these the Dobuni, and their town Corinium," which is known as Cirencester. "Next the Atrebatii, and their town Nalkua," which is probably Silchester, better known as Calleva Atrebatum; "beyond whom are the Cantii, the easternmost people. Among them are these towns: Londinium, Darvernum, Rhutupiæ," otherwise London, Canterbury, Richborough. "Again," he continues, "south from the Atrebatii and the Cantii lie the Rhegni, and the town Noiomagus. South of the Dobuni lie the Belgæ, and the towns Ischalis, Hot Springs, Venta." These three are Ilchester, Bath, and Winchester. Obviously, according to this account, the Belgæ proper occupied parts of Somerset, Wiltshire, and Hampshire; the Dobuni, parts of Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, and Oxfordshire, round Cirencester; the Cantii, Kent, and also London, and therefore probably part of Surrey near London; while the Atrebates, between these three, must have occupied Berkshire, North

Hampshire, and most of Surrey. The Rhegni, or Regni, were south of the Cantii and Atrebates—that is to say, on the coast of Sussex. The town Regnum, found in the Itineraries, can be best placed at Chichester, which bears out this position for the Regni.

Nevertheless, Camden, and others following him, have called the Regni the people of Sussex and Surrey; though it is on the face of it improbable that the same people would be found on the opposite sides of a wide, uninhabited forest. The origin of this location of the Regni in Surrey is solely on account of their town Noiomagus, or Noviomagus. In a kind of Roman Bradshaw, called the Itinerary of Antoninus, we are told that ten miles from London was Noviomagus, on one of the roads from London to Richborough; that eighteen or nineteen miles from Noviomagus was Vagniacæ, which may be Southfleet in Kent, or may be Maidstone; that nine miles from this was Durobrivæ, which is Rochester; and so on to the coast. Now, this Noviomagus was clearly in East Surrey or West Kent, perhaps at Woodcote in Surrey, where there used to be extensive Roman remains, still even in Aubrey's time existing. Less likely it was at Holwood Hill in Kent, where there are an ancient British camp and Roman ruins. Ptolemy says that Noiomagus was a town of the Regni. But if he meant this Noviomagus, his geography is most unintelligibly confused.

There is a difficulty in fact about Noviomagus, unless we suppose that there was more than one place of the name. Ptolemy falls foul of another geographer, named Marinus Tyrius, whom he usually followed a good deal, and says that Marinus has made a mistake in declaring Noiomagus to be fifty-nine miles more to the south than London, while the same Marinus Tyrius shows by the latitude which he assigns to it that it is north of London. Now, the Noiomagus ten miles from London, on the road to Rochester, was neither north of London nor fifty-nine miles to the south of it. Neither Marinus nor Ptolemy had ever been to Britain, so far as we know, and we certainly have here a confusion

between several towns of the same name. There were no less than eight places bearing this name in Gaul. Celtic scholars say that it means something like Newtown or New Place, a name easily repeated; and there were probably three in Britain—one placed by Marinus Tyrius north of London; one ten miles from London, in Surrey or Kent, named in the Itinerary; one fifty-nine Roman miles from London, among the Regni on the coast of Sussex, named by Ptolemy. Perhaps it was at Seaford, where there are, or were, Roman remains, or on the Adur, or elsewhere. Seaford is about the right distance from London, fifty-nine Roman miles.¹

The Belgic tribe of the Atrebates, or their branch, the Segontiaci, have the best claim geographically to be considered the British holders of most of Surrey—a claim still further strengthened by coins and by inferences from historic events. The rest of the county, the north-east, was probably occupied by the Cantii.

All the known tribes of South-East Britain, Belgic and other, seem to have belonged to the Brythonic Celts, that branch of the people who are more commonly, if incorrectly, known as the Cymric Celts, with a language akin to the modern languages of Wales and Brittany. They had at some unknown period ousted or mastered the older races, the Goidelic Celts and Iberians. The religion of the latter, Druidism, lingered among them, and it is possible that some of that people themselves existed as slaves or outlaws. Even now, in the villages of the Weald, the curious observer may trace the features of a small-boned, dark race, unlike the majority of their neighbours, but like the flint-workers of Brandon in Suffolk. These may be relics of the Iberians, surviving many conquests and migrations. But the people with whom early history deals are the Brythonic Celts.

¹ It is, perhaps, scarcely necessary to warn readers now that the "*De situ Britanniae*" of Richard of Cirencester, which used to be relied upon by antiquaries for fixing towns and tribes in Southern Britain, is a forgery of the last century. The Geographer of Ravenna is scarcely intelligible without some further clue to his method of arrangement, and his names are certainly often corrupted beyond restoration.

When Cæsar was about to invade Britain, he used the services of one Commius, a chief of the Belgic Atrebates of Gaul, who was supposed to have influence among the Belgæ in Britain, and sent him over before his expedition, to prepare alliances. The state of the politics of South-East Britain seems to have been as follows : Beyond the Thames was a powerful, warlike tribe, called the Catevelauni, who, under a King whose name we may keep in its Latin form, Cassivelaunus, had conquered the Trinobantes of Essex and exercised supremacy over the Cantii. These three tribes seem not to have been Belgic, and may have hung together against the Belgic intruders, the Belgæ, the Atrebates, and perhaps the Regni. Cæsar perhaps hoped, through Commius, to use the Belgic people as allies. It does not appear that they fought against him, but Commius was taken prisoner, either by the Cantii or by an anti-Roman party among his kinsfolk, and was of no use to the invader. Cæsar landed in Kent, very possibly on the shore behind where Romney Marsh now is, and fought the Cantii on his first expedition, and the Cantii and the Catuvelauni on his second. Though he says that the people of the south were the most civilized of all the Britons, he draws a very unfavourable picture of their manners and customs. They were not savages, however. They had something in the shape of towns and fortresses. They worked iron in the Wealden Forest. They used war-chariots ; they had some sort of roads, which can be traced still upon the North and South Downs, and, indeed, the use of chariots presupposes roads, of a kind, in a country of forests and swamps. They had coined money ; they traded with Gaul, and a little later they exported not only slaves, horses, and dogs, but corn to the Continent. When Cæsar tells us that they stained their bodies with woad, it does not mean that they were therefore savages, any more than the sailors of Nelson's days were savages, because they habitually worked their guns stripped to the waist, and had their chests and arms covered with strange patterns tattooed with gunpowder.

Cæsar, on his first expedition, stayed near his landing-place. On the second he marched through Surrey. After defeating the Cantii, he desired to cross the Thames and attack Cassivelaunus in his own proper territory. He does not describe his line of march, but it can be plausibly conjectured from the nature of the country. The Thames could not be easily nor safely crossed in its tidal course. It was no doubt fordable in places at low-water—for instance, opposite Westminster—but to carry an army with its impedimenta across a tidal ford in the possible face of an enemy would be dangerous. He had therefore to reach some ford upon the Thames above its tidal waters. Neither would the Roman gratuitously plunge into the thickets of the Forest of Andred to reach such a spot, but he would turn the forest, as William the Norman turned it after the Battle of Hastings. The inhabited districts gave to both commanders enemies to be terrorized and food to be collected. There were neither people nor provisions in the forest.

Cæsar's natural line of march would be by the trackways from the coast, with the forest upon his left hand, till he reached the line of the North Downs. Along the side of the North Downs runs still the ancient road called the Pilgrims' Way, from its subsequent use by pilgrims journeying to Canterbury. Like the similar and parallel roads upon the South Downs, it follows the upper and drier ground, above the woods and marshes. Its antiquity appears from its consistent neglect of the later towns and villages, which it does not connect with each other except at its extremities. Dover and Canterbury at one end of it, and Winchester and some port on Southampton Water at the other, were important before the Roman Conquest.

By this road Cæsar could advance in a direction generally westerly, through Kent and half-way through Surrey. He had defeated the Cantii, who were for the time quiet, and he met with no resistance from the Atrebates, the people of Commius, who perhaps favoured him as their deliverer from

Cassivelaunus. After passing the Mole, between Dorking and Letherhead, he turned northwards, on the dry ground between the Mole and the Wey, to reach the Thames. The camp on St. George's Hill, if existing, was undefended, and the enemy were concentrated to resist his passage of the river. There is every probability that this took place near Walton-on-Thames, opposite Halliford. We need not insist much upon Bede's story of the stakes planted to obstruct the ford, and still in his time remaining across the river. These stakes more probably fenced each side of a deep and dangerous ford, as a protection to those crossing. Stakes to block the passage would not have been in a line at right angles to the current, and would not have been left in the river in more peaceful times subsequently. But Halliford by its name indicates a ford upon the Thames, and there is no other local name of the same kind below Halliford and above the tidal waters.¹ On the tidal waters we need not look for a ford which could be used in war. Hungerford Market, near Charing Cross, is not to the point. It is a later name borrowed from a family who came from Hungerford, in Wiltshire. Brentford is a ford of the Brent, not of the Thames.

Cæsar also perhaps gives us some indication of the place of crossing, the only passable ford for infantry he calls it, in his mention of the position of the territory of Cassivelaunus. He tells us that he led his army to the Thames, and up to the borderland of Cassivelaunus. He has before told us where Cassivelaunus ruled. The passage is so differently explained that it is better to give the original: "Cassive-

¹ The tide certainly flowed above Teddington in Cæsar's days. It would do so now, were it not for the locks and weirs. The name Teddington has nothing to do with the tide. Drayton seems to assert that in his time the tide ran up to the confluence of the Mole with the Thames at Moulsey, or towards it:

"Up tow'rds the place where first his much-loved Mole was seen,
He ever since doth flow, beyond delightful Shene."

"Polyolbion," xvii. 71.

The natural place for a ford is at the head of the tidal water, where the stream is checked and silt deposited.

launus, cuius fines a maritimis civitatibus flumen dividit, quod Tamesis appellatur, a mari circiter millia passuum LXXX." This may mean that the Thames was the boundary between the Catuvelauni and the Atrebates and Cantii for eighty Roman miles of its course. From the mouth of the Lea to Shiplake on the Thames is about eighty Roman miles, following the bends of the river. Below the Lea the Thames was then an estuary rather than a river, and the Trinobantes, not the Catuvelauni, were on the north side of it. Or it may mean that where Cæsar hit the Thames, on the borders of the Catuvelauni, was about an eighty miles march from where he landed. This would be approximately the distance, by the route indicated, from Hythe to Halliford. It may also mean that he hit the Thames eighty miles from the sea along the Thames itself. Halliford is about eighty Roman miles from the Nore. The point is worth mentioning, for arguments have been drawn from it bearing on the place of crossing. But the first explanation is the most straightforward, and if it be the true one it throws no light upon the place of the ford. The fact that the river was, before being embanked and locked, fordable here is the strongest argument for this being the place. It is not, of course, the only ford. If Cæsar had gone up higher, he would have found passages at Wallingford and elsewhere. With his passage of the Thames Cæsar passes out of Surrey history. We need not look for him in the so-called Cæsar's Camp on Wimbledon Common, which was lately destroyed. It never bore that name till quite recently, and had it borne it from time out of mind, it would only have meant Roman camp, for all Roman armies under the Empire were Cæsar's armies. Similarly, the great Caius Julius has no connection with the two "Cæsar's camps," British apparently, on Chobham Ridges.

The state of politics left behind him in Britain when he had evacuated the country is interesting. His Atrebatian ally, Commius, finally quarrelled with the Romans, and, escaping from Gaul, came over and exercised power, though

there is no evidence that he was called King, among the Belgic tribes of Britain. The power of the Catuvelauni appears to have received a severe blow from Cæsar's victories, and Commius and his three sons, Eppillus, Tincommius and Verica, ruled over the Atrebates, the Regni, and by conquest probably over the Cantii. Surrey, therefore, divided between the Cantii and Atrebates, became part of a dominion which included also Kent and Sussex, Hampshire, Berkshire, and possibly parts of Oxfordshire and Wiltshire. The evidence of the limits of the dominions is derived from coins, the first in Britain bearing any names, found in the respective neighbourhoods. So far as we can tell from such uncertain data, Eppillus ruled in Kent and East Surrey, and Verica in West Surrey and Hampshire, until on the death of Verica Eppillus united their kingdoms. Tincommius had ruled in Sussex. Both Verica and Eppillus call themselves Kings. Coins of Verica have been found at Wonersh, and at Farley Heath, near Albury.¹

But after the death of the sons of Commius, the Catuvelauni seem to have recovered their power. Tasciovanus, their King, seems to have renewed what we may, by anticipation, call the Mercian or Midland rule over Surrey, and his coins and those of his son Epaticcus are found in the county. But the other son of Tasciovanus, Cunobelinus, who was at first King of the Trinobantes in Essex, seems to have become by far the most powerful Prince in the south of the island, and is called "Rex Britannorum" by Suetonius. He was Overlord of the south when under Claudius, in A.D. 43, the Romans began their final conquest. The south had probably by this time been already half conquered by commercial intercourse with Gaul. The coins, which had been rude imitations of the Macedonian stater down to about 30 B.C., had since then become more and more of the Roman type, betraying a connexion with Roman civilization. Two victories, perhaps on the Medway and near London,

¹ On the tribes of South-East Britain see Professor Rhys' "Celtic Britain," chapter i.

laid the south-east at the feet of the Romans, and there was no more fighting there. Vespasian, marching south-westwards, fought thirty battles and conquered the rest of the south in a laborious campaign. His operations may have begun in Surrey. But the military remains, British or Roman, in the county are not very extensive. They are not to be compared with those of Kent, Sussex, or Wiltshire, much less with the Roman remains of the North of England.

The so-called British camps were rather places of refuge in tribal warfare than encampments—places where the non-combatants and cattle could be protected during the short forays which constitute the warfare of barbarians.

They must have often cost much labour, being surrounded by two, or even three, banks and ditches, and enclosing sometimes a considerable area. They are constructed on hill-tops, and their defences are adapted to the shape of the hill. They do not generally contain water—a pretty strong proof that they were not intended for lengthy occupation or a close siege. The finest in Surrey are to be seen on St. George's Hill, between Weybridge and Cobham; on Anstiebury, which is now in the parish of Capel, four miles from Dorking;¹ on Holmbury Hill, three miles west of Anstiebury; and at Hascombe Beeches, further west again, three miles from Cranleigh and four miles from Godalming. There are remains of works, probably British, on Worm's Heath, a mile and a half from Warlingham, on the Westersham road; and a round camp at Camp Hill, a mile from Godstone, on the East Grinstead road. A camp existed formerly at Oatlands, British or Roman, but it was levelled by the Earl of Lincoln in the reign of George II., when he enlarged and planted the park.

There was also the circular fortification, called Bensbury,

¹ Anstiebury was in the parish of Dorking when the old Surrey histories were written. When a French invasion was expected early in this century, it was proposed to turn Anstiebury Camp to its original use, and to carry thither the women and children of Dorking. It says much for the badness of the roads, less than a hundred years ago, if it was thought that the fugitives would have been out of the reach of the Grande Armée there.;

or the Rounds, and later Cæsar's Camp, on Wimbledon Common. There is, or was, a camp in War Copse, near Caterham, close to the Pilgrims' Way. There are larger, irregular entrenchments near Sunningdale Station, south of the South-Western Railway line; Cæsar's Camp, near Aldershot; ditches on Crooksbury Hill; and other earth-works of more doubtful form and origin.

St. George's Hill and Anstiebury are the two largest of the British camps of Surrey. They are of the same character as the great South Down camps—irregular enclosures of considerable size—for at Anstiebury the banks enclose 11 acres, crowning the top of a hill and following its slopes in their outlines. St. George's Hill is of very irregular shape. Anstiebury is roughly elliptical, the shape of the hill being the same. They belong, probably, to the pre-Roman days, and may possibly have been manned against the legions of Aulus Plautius or Vespasian.

When in use, the banks of these fortifications, then of course far higher and steeper than they are now—for the sand does not keep the same marvellous sharpness of outline which the chalk preserves—were probably crowned with palisades and felled trees. Looking upon the wood-crowned hills, the scholar is irresistibly reminded of Cæsar's description of a British fortress: "*Crebris arboribus succisis omnes introitus erant præclusi!*" ("*De Bello Gallico*," v. 8). And again: "*Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, quum silvas impeditas vallo et fossa munierunt, quo incursionis hostium vitandæ causa convenire consueverunt*" ("*De Bello Gallico*," v. 17). This exactly bears out the idea of the camp of refuge fortified by banks, ditches, and abattis.

Holmbury and Hascombe both show traces of Roman science. They are rectangular on three sides, only in each case the south side, crowning a steep slope, follows the contour of the hill. Just as the later Roman engineers sometimes adopted the style of fortification of the Barbarians who filled their armies, so Barbarians who had seen Roman warfare copied the Roman science. Apparently some late

Roman and some Barbarian camps are indistinguishable in form. But these fortifications, perched upon the tops of hills, away from water, are quite unlike the works of the Legions. Such works, perhaps, belong to the time when the Romans had departed, and when the Welsh of Surrey were alarmed by the progress of English invaders from north, east, and west. Few, if any, of these camps have been systematically explored for remains, but they have yielded a few coins and flints. The age of a fortification is not to be decisively determined by the remains found in it.¹ Many of them may have been occupied by different people at different times, long after the first builders had disappeared. Three of the most considerable Surrey camps, St. George's Hill, Anstiebury, and Hascombe, are completely overgrown by woods.

As Surrey was not the scene of Roman warfare after, perhaps, the first year of the invasion under Claudius, Roman military remains are few. There was apparently a *tête du pont* covering the foot of London Bridge. But its existence is rather a matter of conjectural probability than evidence. There is a rectangular, or nearly rectangular, camp on Puttenham Heath, south of the Hog's Back, called Hillbury, which, with a single bank and ditch close to a stream which is within missile range of the western vallum, has all the appearance of a Roman work.² It is a very possible halting-place of a detachment of Vespasian's army.

There are three small square enclosures on Walton Heath. There is a very small square camp near the Mole, above Stoke d'Abernon, near Randalls Park, and there used to be three small square works near Chertsey, nearly opposite Laleham. On Farley Heath, near Albury, is a large nearly rectangular fortification, with remains of brick buildings,

¹ For instance, in an undoubted British camp near the South Downs, the first investigations of an eminent antiquary led to the discovery of two old-fashioned tobacco-pipes and a halfpenny of King William III.

² The Hillbury camp is not exactly rectangular; the north side is shorter than the south. But Roman engineers did not always observe the rules of Polybius or Hyginus exactly.

which is clearly a Roman station.¹ It was a camp, possibly, converted into a permanent settlement or garrison. A systematic excavation of it would probably yield very interesting results, for a great quantity of coins have been found there by merely random digging.

We may picture Roman Surrey to ourselves as a pleasant, rural country, ungarrisoned and secure from enemies, during the greater part of the Imperial rule. The legions were quartered far away in the North and the West. Neither was Surrey a great centre of trade or population. The towns must have been few and small. In what is now Southwark there were villas, with tessellated pavements and other marks of wealthy inhabitants. Sufficient remains have been discovered at Kingston-upon-Thames to lead us to suppose that there was a small town. The Thames Valley was no doubt as attractive to a Roman or Romanized Briton as to ourselves.² At Woodcote, near Croydon, there used, according to Camden and Aubrey, to be very extensive remains. There was the small town on Farley Heath. It is impossible to say from remains, or from the names in the Itineraries, that there were any other towns. High up on Walton Heath, between Reigate and Epsom, there are remains of a few Roman houses, and a brass image of *Æsculapius* has been found there. One wonders what took a fairly rich man to such a spot, unless he wished to test the speed of his British horses over the turf made famous by subsequent struggles. Near Gatton various Roman relics have been found, including parts of the ornamental trappings of horses. At Pendill, in Blechingley, a Roman hypocaust and foundations were discovered in 1813. A

¹ Albury—in Domesday, *Eldeberie*, the Old Bury—was named apparently from these ruins. In Aubrey's time the remains of buildings were evidently much more considerable here. The bases of two of the pillars of old Albury Church have been thought, perhaps wrongly, to be Roman, taken from this place.

² There is no evidence of a Roman bridge at Kingston. The first mention of Kingston Bridge is in the Patent Rolls of 8 Henry III. The Roman bridge above London was at Staines (*Ad Pontes*, or *Pontibus*, in their geography).

Roman villa was discovered at Titsey, near the Pilgrims' Way, in 1864. There was another near Guildford, another near Chiddingfold, and remains, in Stukeley's time, at Tongham. At Abinger there was a small Roman villa, pleasantly situated, with a hill between it and the north, standing among the sandy heaths, and close to the great forest. It was the hunting-box, perhaps, of an official from London. It is in the grounds belonging to Lord Farrer. The remains here have well-nigh disappeared now—not without fame in their decay. It was here that the late Charles Darwin scientifically observed, and recorded, the ravages of the earth-worms upon the exposed and once-admired tesserae of the atrium.

Roman Surrey, without a name of its own, was merely an agricultural, residential and sporting district, then as now. But the neighbourhood of the Anderida Silva, where the boar, the red deer and the wolf harboured, must have afforded more stirring sport than can be obtained with the Royal Buck Hounds, the Surrey Union, or round the pheasant preserves. On the chalk downs the bustards wandered in troops; on the heaths the still not extinct blackcock mocked the skill of the archer. In the streams the otter fished as he still fishes, and perhaps the beaver engineered. It must have been a pleasant place when the north-east wind brought up no cloud of smoke from London, when Nature had still, as a rule, the upper hand of man, and when from the brow of Leith Hill the hunter could gaze over an unbroken sea of oak boughs tossing between him and the distant South Downs.





CHAPTER III.

ANCIENT ROADS AND ROMAN RULE.

WHEREVER the Roman went he secured his access and his retreat by roads, and in the ancient roads of the county we have the determining influences for the course of some of its subsequent history.

The county being such as we have described, the reasons for the existence of the chief roads are not to be found within its own borders. No great centres of population existed here, and the roads are through communications between places beyond Surrey on different sides.

The Thames itself probably would provide through communication from west to east by water, and very many ancient roads are not to be looked for along the Thames Valley, though the Wimbledon Ridgeway may be a bit of one.

Further south, however, the chalk of the North Downs afforded a passage from west to east, valuable when the clay was covered by swamps and woods, and when the frequent ups and downs of the sand cut by transverse ravines that run from north to south made it also unsuitable for cross-country journeys. The ancient British trackways all over the country seem to cling to the sides, or even the ridges, of hills for such reasons. The Pilgrims' Way, along part of which we have already conducted the probable march of Cæsar, entered the county near Farnham, and went up at

once on to the level and narrow ridge of the Hog's Back, where the road from Farnham to Guildford still occupies the site of at least one branch of it. Of one branch: for there is reason to believe that it divided at Whiteway End, near Farnham—that is, at the end of the chalk road—and that another line followed the lower slope of the hill on the sand, past Seale, Puttenham and Compton, south of the Hog's Back, to St. Catherine's ferry on the Wey. Here was perhaps a ford. The ford would of course be destroyed by the canalizing of the river. This lower road continued past St. Martha's Chapel to Albury, Shiere and Dorking. There it rejoined the upper road, which kept along the chalk hills from Merrow Downs near Guildford where it crossed the Wey. The lower road was probably the actual Pilgrims' Way of the Middle Ages to Canterbury.¹ It runs from church to church. Pilgrims' marks are said to be found carved on the pillars of some churches on the line. St. Catherine's Fair was, like all mediæval fairs, held on the frequented road. St. Martha's Chapel seems to recall its use, for the name is pretty certainly a corruption. Sancti Martyris is the older form, and in the case of a late twelfth-century building, in such a place, the "Holy Martyr" can be none other than St. Thomas of Canterbury.

The upper road on the downs, like the ordinary ancient British roads everywhere, is completely independent of the positions of English villages. It goes north of Albury, Shiere and Dorking, crosses the Mole near Burford Bridge, slopes up the front of Box Hill, goes north of Betchworth and Reigate, runs through Gatton Park, where it is very strongly marked, passes Merstham, and continues north of Godstone and Oxted, south of Caterham and Woldingham, between Tatsfield and Titsey, past Coldharbour Green into Kent.² By one line or the other the Pilgrims' Way con-


¹ "The Pilgrims' Way in West Surrey," Captain James, R.E.

² It is a mistake to suppose that the name Coldharbour is found exclusively on Roman roads. Invariably, or almost invariably, however, it occurs upon an old road. It means, probably, a rough shelter for

tinued to be the usual route from west to east for medieval armies, as De Montfort's in 1263, and for royal journeys, unless the Kings were travelling along the parallel coast road.

With the Roman occupation more systematic communication from south to north became necessary. It is easy to grasp the conditions which regulated the direction of Roman roads. To the north was the Thames, offering an open way from the sea into the heart of the country. To the south was the line of coast, about parallel to the Thames Valley, with the Sussex ports upon it. These were Anderida, or Pevensey; the mouth of the Ouse; the Portus Adurni, which was at Bramber or Old Shoreham or Aldrington, at all events upon the Adur; Chichester, probably called Regnum, upon Chichester Harbour. Though there was probably a British fortification at Arundel, and though there are Roman remains near it, no Roman port can be named on the lower Arun. But Pulborough, at the head of the estuary, was a Roman station. These five ports, then, Pevensey, the mouth of the Ouse, the mouth of the Adur, Pulborough, and Chichester, were the gates through which communication came towards the Thames Valley through Surrey. In the South Downs, near these ports, were certain gaps where transverse roads were easier of construction, and in the North Downs of Surrey were similar gaps, which gave a readier access towards the Thames. The north-west and the north-east corner also of Surrey were crossed by roads communicating between the

travellers, like the Dawk-bungalow of India. It is used in this sense by John Evelyn describing his crossing of the Alps. There are at least six examples in Surrey: Coldharbour Green on the Pilgrims' Way; Coldharbour near Dorking, on the very old road from London to Arundel; one near Blechingley, a mile at least from the Roman road which goes through Godstone; one south of Croydon, on the northern extension of this road, or very near it; one near Pirford, on the line of the probable road from the Sussex coast to Staines. In Sussex there is another upon the line of this same road. Lastly, Coldharbour Lane, Brixton, where more than one old road converged upon the ford at Westminster or the bridge.



Thames Valley and the sea, through Hampshire and Kent respectively.¹

Starting from the west side of the county first, we find the road from Silchester crossing East Hampstead Plain and entering Surrey, over Bagshot Heath. On East Hampstead Plain it is called the Devil's Highway. The engineering skill of a past civilization, anything too clever for existing men to have done, is constantly in popular talk attributed to the devil. Entering the county of Surrey at Duke's Hill, Bagshot, and turning in a more north-easterly direction, it can be still traced north of the present road, close along the border of the county. One of the rides in Windsor Forest runs along it for 300 yards. Part of the artificial pond, Virginia Water, lies across its line. It continues nearly straight to the Thames, which it crosses at Staines, the Roman *Ad Pontes*, and then goes through Middlesex to London. A branch is said to have been traced from it, diverging from near the river towards Chertsey. This must have crossed the Wey at Weybridge, and the Mole at the lost Emleybridge, which gave its name to a hundred of the county, and it may reappear in the Ridgeway at Wimbledon, going towards Kent or London, more probably to the former, by Camberwell Lane and Peckham Lane, keeping above the low ground by the Thames.

Traces of a Roman road have been found, and laid down on their maps by the Ordnance Survey, entering the county of Surrey north-east of Warnham, and running in a north-westerly direction by Summersbury Wood, past Ewhurst and up Ewhurst Hill. The direction continued south-eastward would connect it with the traces of the road found in Sussex near Keymer, crossing from the gap in the South Downs made by the Ouse. It may have been connected

¹ There are said to be indications of an ancient way through the western part of the *Anderida Silva* also, but it has never been completely traced. The formerly existing High Street Common, near Chiddingfold, suggests by its name such a road. Edward I. seems to have travelled by it in 1305. He was at Guildford June 7, at Witley June 8, and went on to Chichester.

with another branch from the mouth of the Adur. But while the former line can be pretty certainly established, the latter is a matter of conjecture. This road cannot be traced further north than Ewhurst Hill. A communication with the Farley Heath station seems likely, and the straight line points unmistakably right on to the gap in the chalk at Guildford or to Newlands Corner, and so onwards to the Thames at Staines, where the Silchester road crossed. The Coldharbour on this line would indicate that it crossed the Wey near Pirford. This route gives a communication between the coast and the Thames Valley, but not with London directly. It is safe to assert that the original scheme of Roman roads, perhaps based upon existing British trackways, did not regard London as all-important. Some of the roads were made before there was a London Bridge in existence.

The Roman road, however, which is in the best preservation of all those in Surrey is the Stone Street, which runs from Chichester and Pulborough to London. It is traceable nearly all the way from the coast to Epsom. Leaving Chichester in a north-easterly direction, from which it scarcely deviates for more than a point or two in its whole course, it goes boldly over the South Downs west of Arundel, passes near the fine Roman Villa at Bignor, passes Pulborough, Billingshurst, and Slinfold, being still the used road past these places, and enters Surrey near Okewood Hill. Here there is a gap in its modern continuity, but a little further on it is still used past Ockley, and thence it can be traced through the woods and fields. The flint pavement has been excavated in places, and in other places has vexed the soul of the ploughman and drain-digger all the way to Dorking. It is west of the modern highway from Horsham to Dorking. It leaves Anstiebury Camp half a mile to the left. In the streets of Dorking drainage operations have shown the Roman way crossing South Street and West Street.¹

¹ The writer in 1888 caused this road to be dug up on the headland of a field, enclosed only in this century, about half-way between Ockley and

Camden is wrong in saying that it went through the churchyard of Dorking. It left the church on its right, and headed straight for the gap where the Mole goes through the chalk range under Box Hill. There, bending further east, it mounts the downs, falling, perhaps, into the line of a British trackway, and is still a bridle-road, raised on a causeway over hollows and cutting into declivities, right up to Epsom Racecourse. It is possible that the British trackway there went off to the right, towards Woodcote, keeping to the chalk down as they usually did. The Roman road descended to Ewell, and went as straight as ever, where it is again the modern road, through Streatham, the Ham on the Street, towards London Bridge. Aubrey says that there were traces of it at Newington in the seventeenth century.

Both the preservation and the disuse of this road are remarkable. It was not forgotten altogether, nor abandoned for better lines. Long stretches were and are used in some places, short stretches in others. But between these parts lanes, certainly not modern, cross it, run beside it, do anything but follow it. The old streets of Dorking have no connexion with it. It looks as if all desire for through communication were lost, and if the road led to the next farm it was used, if not it was left, no one in the Weald of Surrey dreaming of going to London or Chichester, and no demand for communication between these places existing. Ockley is the only village upon it in Surrey, south of Dorking, and north of Dorking there is none upon it till we come to Ewell. If beyond Epsom Racecourse it kept to the downs, there is no town or village upon it before Croydon.

Further east there is a road, very doubtfully traced, except in a few miles of its course over the sand and chalk hills, through Godstone. It points on to London by way of

Dorking. The centre of the pavement was intact, composed of flints set in cement, and very hard. He has also seen the pavement laid bare by the fall of a large tree, torn up by the roots in a gale. In this case, of course, the roots had disturbed the stones.

Croydon or Woodcote northwards, and would seem to have come from Lewes and Pevensey on the coast. Near the latter are traces of a road heading north-westwards. Stratton, south of Godstone, is on this road, and however obscure in its course now, it certainly was a Roman way. De Montfort marched by it in 1264, to fight at Lewes.

If the Noviomagus of the Itineraries be Woodcote, this is the road there named between that place and London, and it had a branch eastward into Kent.

The main road from the Kentish ports to London cut through the extreme north-east of Surrey along the Old Kent Road. It seems to have run originally by Stangate in Lambeth to the ford at Westminster, and to have been continued thence towards the line of the Edgware Road. Later, when London Bridge was built, it was diverted to the bridge, and taken through the City as Watling Street, to join its former course at an obtuse angle near the Marble Arch. The obvious diversion of the great Watling Street from its first direction, when it came from the north as if to cross the Thames at Westminster, and its turning with a sharp angle into an eastward line to reach the bridge, is a strong indication that the road existed before the bridge, if not before London. It is possible that even the Stone Street headed first for Lambeth and Westminster from Streatham.

Of minor cross-roads and trackways it is unnecessary to treat at length. Many of those now existing are probably very ancient, lying deep down as they do between high banks, in ravines which speak of centuries of traffic and water wear. Some similar old trackways remain only as footpaths or bridle-paths across the hills. Others have become practically impassable in places, or been blocked deliberately, like the old way, or *gate*, from Ockley through Newdigate, Parkgate, Reigate, and Gatton to join the Pilgrims' Way.

It is safe to say that when the Roman roads were in good repair, Surrey, south of the chalk, was more accessible than

it was in the first half of the last century. The clay lanes in particular were then and later marvels of impassableness, for something which went by the name of a road. In winter, or in any wet weather, they were literally impassable, for no divergence over the adjoining fields made any improvement. In the deep sand-lanes, between high banks, divergence was impossible, and the rains scoured the ways into deep and shelving trenches impracticable for wheels.

The ports, at the foot of every one of the Roman ways which penetrated through the forest into Surrey, were protected by fortifications, garrisons and fleet. The Comes Litoris Saxonici kept watch, as the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports did later, along the shore. The Roman probably had more powerful fleets, better fortifications and better-disciplined soldiers than his medieval successor could command. Surrey was undisturbed under the Romans, from the time when the Iceni of Boadicea sacked London on its borders, in A.D. 61, down to the time when Carausius, Count of the Saxon Shore, had assumed the purple, and had been murdered by his lieutenant, Allectus, who was in turn defeated and killed by Constantius in A.D. 296. Constantius landed in the West, and marched upon London, where he defeated Allectus. It is possible, therefore, that he came through North-West Surrey, and seized the passage of the river at Staines. The Pax Romana was a real blessing. Surrey can never have enjoyed so long a period of peace again, as from A.D. 61 to 296, till after 1648.

In the fourth century, when Theodosius had to deliver London itself from the incursions of barbarians, the threat at least of war must have come near the peaceful Roman merchants and farmers in the Surrey villas. They were all Romans in name and by citizenship, since early in the third century, of whatever blood they might be. Though it would be rash to say that no Celtic speech lingered among slaves or poor people, yet Latin must have been the ordinary language heard. The country was Roman in name and sentiment. The British tribes entirely disappeared under

the Imperial rule, even as local subdivisions.¹ There is no evidence to tell us to which Roman district of Britain Surrey belonged. Perhaps the inhabitants in the fourth century were Christians in name. The government was Christian for about the last hundred years of the Roman occupation, and in A.D. 394 Theodosius suppressed paganism in the whole Empire. It lingered for a time in country districts; but the religion of the Emperor was quickly received by his subjects in towns and among the upper classes. Pagan public worship ceased. But Romano-Christian remains are uncommon in Britain anywhere. Such as there are belong chiefly to the South, the commercial part of the country, not to the North, the military frontier. Yet in Surrey there seem to be none at all.

The real opinions of the inhabitants of Roman Surrey, who conformed to Christianity to please Constantine and Theodosius, would present a terribly confused appearance if we could know them. Celtic, Roman, Oriental and Druidic mythology and magic were probably rather overlaid and modified than superseded by imperfectly apprehended Christianity. Some of the oldest beliefs would be the last to disappear, and pre-Celtic Druidism would preserve the honour of the sacred trees, as race succeeded race. As there was a Bishop of London in those days, and also a Bishop at Verulamium, or St. Albans, the diocese of the former, if it existed beyond the city, must have been rather south than north of it, and perhaps included Surrey. Of Christianity as a practical force for good, there was probably very little. At least so we must think if we attend to the wholesale denunciations of his Christian countrymen by Gildas, the Jeremiah of the collapsing Romano-British people.

¹ Mommsen, Book VIII., chap. v.



CHAPTER IV.

EARLY ENGLISH SURREY.

THE Roman rule ended in A.D. 410. The Legions had been withdrawn before. All attempts ceased to regulate the administration from the seat of the Empire, and officials, merchants and others, whose original home and connexions were upon the Continent, would go. But the bulk of the inhabitants and the forms of administration remained the same. A certain diminution or displacement of population had probably begun already, long before. In the third century, 130 years earlier than 410, piratical ravage upon the coasts had become formidable enough to call for special measures of defence. These attacks had become more frequent and determined, and would be less efficiently met, after the successive removals of regular soldiers and marines, from the time of the expedition of Maximus into Gaul, A.D. 387. The Saxons, Franks, and other Low German invaders could not keep the sea for long in their small vessels, and consequently hugged the land past the mouth of the Rhine, and fell upon the south-eastern shores of Britain, interrupting the easiest communication with the Continent and civilization. Long before permanent conquest and settlement were attempted in Kent, Sussex, Essex and East Anglia, the population there would be harried out of existence along the shore, except in or close to the fortified towns. Just so the Turcoman robbers chased the population

out of the border districts of Persia and Afghanistan, the Malay pirates depopulated the coasts of Borneo before they settled there, and the Saracen rovers depopulated Italian shores.

A city like London, depending for its existence upon a concourse of merchants, would rapidly decay and be half abandoned when commerce was seriously interrupted, or even made impossible by increasing piracy and plunder, which extended equally to the opposite shores of Gaul. So far as can be gathered from the accounts by Ammianus Marcellinus, Theodosius in 367 had found London itself being plundered by barbarians, and the irregular, hastily-built Roman wall round the city was perhaps made after that time. So was perhaps the wall of Silchester too—not the outer British rampart, but the inner Roman wall.

These calamities would afflict the outskirts of Surrey, and lead to the disappearance of the more important inhabitants of the Thames Valley. Soon afterwards the wave of actual Low German or English conquest began to advance upon the country, and Surrey became the scene of those events which were to end in making it a part of the West Saxon kingdom.

It is well to clear away at once the notion which has been expressed in so many histories, that Surrey was part of the original South Saxon conquests. The name, the Southern Kingdom, or, by its other popular explanation, the Country South of the River, must have been given to it by people who lived north of the Thames, as surely as Sutherland was named by people coming from Orkney and Shetland. The name points to the time of Mercian supremacy. There is no evidence either in the legends of the conquest, nor in subsequent arrangements, to connect Surrey with Sussex. The South Saxons, Ælle and Cissa, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, took fourteen years to conquer laboriously along the Sussex coast from Chichester to Pevensey. North of them lay the great forest, the Andredesweald, pierced only by its three or four narrow Roman roads. In the thickets

the remnants of the Welsh found refuge, and issued thence to harass the rear of the besieging South Saxons at Pevensey. Six hundred years later, when the Domesday Survey was made, the villages of Surrey and Sussex respectively were separated by a great belt of uninhabited or sparsely-peopled country. In the seventh century the English of the Thames Valley, at least in Surrey, seem to have been Christian, when the people of Sussex were still heathen. Surrey was part of the West Saxon Diocese of Winchester, Sussex was the Diocese of Selsey. Under-Kings were, it is true, placed over both Surrey and Sussex, but also over more than these two, and never apparently over these two only. Thus, Æthelstan, son or brother of Æthelwulf, was Under-King over Sussex, Surrey, Kent and Essex. No early chronicler, good or bad, connects Surrey and Sussex as parts of an original kingdom. Florence of Worcester, enumerating the various counties which constituted the original English kingdoms, includes Surrey in the West Saxon dominions, and confines the South Saxons to Sussex only. Essex, or Middlesex, and Kent have some claims to have spread into Surrey once, Sussex none at all.

In the course of the fifth century the long era of plunder on the part of the English—for thus the various Low German tribes are collectively known—began to find its natural development in conquest and settlement. The Jutes mastered Kent, in a series of battles which are, indeed, only given to us by a much later authority, but which bear the marks of authenticity, in that they are agreeable to geographical probability. The battles of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, whether victories or defeats for the invaders, are followed by their natural consequences; the British victories of Welsh legend are suggestively unaccompanied by the fruits of success, in many cases. We know from the examples of modern journalism and war what a great victory means when it is immediately followed by a “retreat for strategic reasons.” Taking the dates given in the Chronicle, we read that in A.D. 457 the Jutes slew 4,000 Britons at Crayford, and that the Welsh—to give them, too, their

current name—who had already “fled from the English as if they were fire,” forsook Kent, and betook themselves in terror to London. The English turned back, to complete the conquest of the fortresses on the Saxon shore, between which they had penetrated. London evidently remained in the hands of the Welsh, and the wooded hills above the Ravensbourne, near Sydenham and Norwood, with London on one flank, and the camp on Holwood Hill on the other, stood as the boundary of Welsh and Englishmen, of Surrey and of Kent. The number of the invaders was not yet sufficient for more than the conquest and colonization of Kent—perhaps of not much more than East Kent, without reinforcements—for the characteristic Jutish features and speech prevail rather in the old Diocese of Canterbury than in that of Rochester, the old area of the little West Kentish kingdom.

North of the Thames the low lands of Essex were gradually filled with bands of adventurers, whose coming is not recorded, for the same reason that no detailed history can exist of the gradual encroachments of families of backwoodsmen into the American forests. Only in 526, the scattered families of the East Saxons were united under a war-leader, or King, called Æscwine, perhaps for the advance upon London. South of the great forest the South Saxons conquered the coast that bears their name—from where the estuary of the Rother overflowed most of what is now Romney Marsh, to where Chichester Harbour ran close up to the edges of the Forest of Bere, south of the chalk. The South Saxons planted their settlements on the northern skirts of the South Downs, along the verge of the forest, but then halted within their natural boundaries of sea, marsh, and forest, an isolated, backward, and apparently disunited people. There was never a strong central monarchy in Sussex. They are the only people among whom the conversion of the King to Christianity did not carry with it the nominal conversion of the kingdom.

But further west a more vigorous and numerous influx of

invaders, entering through the open doors of the Solent and Southampton Water, spread north and west across Hampshire, and founded the great kingdom of the West Saxons, in Hampshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire and Oxfordshire. In his epoch-making paper, read before the Archæological Institute at Salisbury in 1849, when the cholera had frightened less ardent scholars out of the city, Dr. Guest, the late Master of Caius College, Cambridge, laid down the boundaries of the early West Saxon conquests, before the conquering King Ceawlin arose in his might, a great maker of England and founder of West Saxon greatness.

The frontier is traced from the sea on the borders of Dorsetshire and Hampshire, leaving Old Sarum still Welsh till 552, but extending north of it into Wiltshire, then reaching through Berkshire, with a tongue across the Thames, including Oxford, but recrossing the river above Wallingford, the Welshmen's ford, and passing through Berkshire to the neighbourhood of Chertsey, in Surrey, on the Thames, where Englefield and Englemoor, the English Field and the English Boundary, on the west, confront Wealageat, Wealahyðe, and Shirepool, on the east. These three names, the Welshman's Road, the Welshman's Hythe, and the Dividing-pool, survive in a charter of Chertsey Abbey.

The Roman station *Ad Pontes* was just across the river; the Wey marshes, backed by the camp on St. George's Hill, and Walton, the Welsh Town, on Thames, defended the Welsh frontier. Dr. Guest did not trace the boundary further in detail. He was content to say that it ran south, west of the Wey, then east, and then north to the Thames again near London, enclosing most of the modern county of Surrey as Welsh territory.

We must look upon Surrey, then, as a sort of outlying buttress of Welsh territory, with the West Saxons round its western and south-western borders, the South Saxons still beyond the forest to the south, the Kentishmen to the east, the East Saxons encroaching menacingly towards the Thames

Valley on the north-east. During the check which the English conquests suffered in the sixth century, owing to the better concerted resistance of the natives under Ambrosius Aurelianus and his house, who represented the traditions of Roman arms and government, the Welsh of Surrey maintained a precarious independence. The idea of the county as a separate district, not yet part of Kentish or East Saxon or West Saxon conquest, but coveted no doubt by all, seems now to arise. It owed its position not so much to strongly-marked natural boundaries, for these were only decisively important on the south, as to the temporary retention of London, Verulamium, and the country behind them by the Welsh. When they fell Surrey became completely isolated, and fell naturally. Not only so, but the retreat of the Welsh would be cut off, unless they betook themselves to outlaw life in the forest. Some no doubt did so; some spared from the sword would sink into slavery; some may have continued as subject communities. Besides, Walton-on-Thames, Walton-on-the-Hill, Wallington, Walworth, and Woldingham, which is Wallingeham in Domesday, may be the homes of the remnants of the Welsh of Surrey. While the historical, linguistic and topographical evidence is overwhelming for the substitution of English for Welsh over great parts of England, a literal extermination of the Welsh is not necessarily implied. Many had no doubt abandoned the coast before the English settled. Many would gradually retreat, as the Red Indians retreated, there being plenty of room in the country, before the worrying attacks of English backwoodsmen through several generations of slow advance. All with movable wealth would fly from plunder as soon and as far as they could. Many would perish. Only such an amount of extermination is demanded by history as will explain the facts of the language, religion, political institutions, and social arrangements of the conquerors being English, and not Welsh or Roman.¹ That

¹ Welsh words in early English seem now to be reduced to about ten, exclusive of local names. Of the latter, the Surrey rivers Thames, Mole,

Welsh women must have remained alive to make a population is a needless supposition. There is no reason why the English should not have women with them. The kindred Scandinavians took women with them to England, Scotland, Ireland, Normandy, Greenland, and America, and peopled the previously uninhabited Shetlands and Iceland, where there were no native women to marry. At the best, the diminished Welsh population of Surrey must have had to face death, slavery, or the dangerous hardships of exile.

The expansive West Saxons were probably the first to actually intrude themselves into the limits of the modern county, and were also the tribe who ultimately were to master it all.

The Welsh and West Saxon boundary traced by Dr. Guest in West Surrey may be more minutely fixed. When the people depending upon the ancient "Cæsar's Camps" near Bagshot and Farnham had been defeated, the West Saxon pioneers and their families, straying over the chalk and the barren Bagshot Sands, would not meet with many inhabitants west of the Wey. The river, with its marshes, and the woods near its mouth, formed a natural barrier from Guildford to the Thames. The settlers halted upon the west side for a time. We, living in a drained and cleared country, scarcely understand the importance of such an obstacle. A journey on foot, in winter or in wet weather, across the Wey Valley will make it clearer why a handful of scattered settlers, with ground enough to live on, should prefer to keep it between them and their enemies. Further south, however, where the valley of the river is narrower and where it runs through the sand, and not the London clays, the West Saxons crossed it, and spread eastwards north of the forest, over the sand and gault, and along the ridge of the chalk above, till they were again brought up by the valley of the Mole cutting the chalk at Dorking, and by

Wey, Oke (two), seem to be Celtic. The villages Hambledon and Ockshott may conceivably contain a Celtic word. The Andredesweald is Celtic in origin, Anglicized in form.

the Wealden clays where the escarpment of the greensand turns sharply northwards above the Holmwood Common. The West Saxons were thus in Surrey west of the Wey, and in a strip of country crossing the Upper Wey, and reaching north of the forest, but not far north of the chalk ridge, to near Dorking. There their land terminated in a line north and south, which perhaps survives in the eastern boundary of Wotton parish. This frontier is marked by a line of names which are strongly significant of a boundary of pre-Christian date, and which can scarcely be paralleled in England as a Pantheon of heathendom. It contains also names compounded with *sciran*, to divide, and *moor* or *mere*, the waste on a boundary.

Going southward from the Englefield and Englemoor over against Chertsey, we find Sherewater in one of the side-valleys of the Wey; then Egley, perhaps the lea of Ægil, the hero-archer; then Frylane Farm, from Frea or Frigedæg, whose lea appears twice on boundaries in the "Codex Diplomaticus," in charters of the dates of A.D. 805 and A.D. 850, and whose tree is the boundary mark in another of A.D. 959. Then comes Whitemoor;¹ then, on the slopes of the Hog's Back, Wanborough, from Woden. Woden was the Hermes or Ζεύς Ἐρμῆος of our fathers, the God of Boundaries. His name appears again and again on the West Saxon boundaries in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, and *Wodnesbeorg*, as here, *Woddesgeat*, *Wodnesdene*, and *Wodanærsc*, appear as boundary marks in charters of A.D. 825, 939, 940 respectively. There is also a Woden Hill on the Englemoor west of Chertsey.

Two miles and a quarter south-eastward from Wanborough, on the other side of the Hog's Back, is Polsted. Four miles south-east by east from Polsted is Wonersh, or *Wodanærsc*. Behind the line are Tewsley and Thursley, from *Tiw* and *Thor*. Near there lie Thundersfield, Frowsbury and Sattenham, from *Thor* or *Thunor*, *Freá* and *Saetere*.

¹ Hereabouts Aubrey saw a boundary dike, which has now disappeared. The bank was to the west, the ditch to the east.

Three miles to the north-east of Wonersh are the Merrow Downs, in Domesday *Merewe*, equivalent to the *Mærweg*, now Mereway, found in a charter of Edred's of A.D. 953, and meaning the *Marchway*. The way in question is the Pilgrims' Way, which runs along the downs here. Three miles south-eastward is Shiere, the boundary; then Wotton, which is *Odetone* in Domesday, but as giving its name to the hundred is Wodetone. In a charter of Edward I. of 1302, it preserves still more clearly its heathen origin as Wodinton. On the chalk to the north is Polesden. Southwards, the parish of Wotton extends in a narrow strip, nine miles long, with one Friday Street in it, another just beyond its southern end, another in a straight line further south still, on the present Sussex border. There is a similar but smaller cluster of names, on the probable border of the East Saxons and the Welsh of the London district, on the old boundary mentioned in Salmon's "History of Hertfordshire." They are Thunderfield, Thundridge, Wade's Mill, Wade's Farm, Poles, Mere Hall, Thorley and Wotton, with Sheering close by, over the present Essex frontier.

Here then, west of the Wey, and in a wedge between the forest and the Welsh of Mid-Surrey, the West Saxons thrust themselves in, and halted for a time. Here their descendants still talk a modified West Saxon tongue, while northwards, from Epsom about, whether from conquest or subsequent infection, the East Saxon tongue of London painfully prevails, and spreads with the spread of railways. One local suffix, *shot*, is nearly peculiar in Surrey to this part of the county, as in Aldershot, Cowshot, Ewshot, Bagshot, and other places. Ockshott lies a little further east, and the termination is common in West Hampshire and Berkshire, just behind this district, but uncommon elsewhere. It would almost seem as if we could trace the migration of one body of West Saxon settlers, from the country north of Portsmouth to the skirts of the forest in South-West Surrey, bringing local names with them. In the former neighbourhood we find Hambledon, Chidding, Chidding Farm,

Chiddingdown, Highden Wood ; in the latter, Hambledon, Chiddingfold, Highdown Ball. Each group of names is close together. These West Saxon settlers were scarcely, perhaps, part of a West Saxon kingdom yet. In their remote obscurity the Wocingas, Godhelmingas, Æscingas and the Dorcingas probably really governed themselves, earlier political units than England by some centuries.

The overthrow of the Welsh of Surrey came, however, in all probability, from the other side of the county, where, perhaps, Æscwine or Sledda, Kings of the East Saxons, or Hermanric, King of the Kentish men, broke in upon the Welsh of the Thames Valley. Their existence depended upon the existence of a defensible London. When that ceased the Essex and Kentish men were bound to overrun the country. A great darkness hangs over the fate of London. Between the year 457, when the Welsh fled there in terror from the Kentish men, and 604, when a Kentish Over-King planted the East Saxon Bishop's see there, it disappears from history. Analogy would lead us to suppose that it fell to the East Saxons; for in the whole course of subsequent history no enemy ever conquered London from the south, though many approached and some attempted it.

It is possible that London was rather choked out of existence by commerce-destroying plunder and ravage of the surrounding fields than taken by any attack likely to be recorded in history. There are some indications that it lay waste for a time. The Roman walls were ruinous in Alfred's days, nor have Roman remains in the City much relation to the medieval streets.

But when the site of London became East Saxon we cannot tell, except between wide dates. Sigebert of Gemblours places a Welsh victory at Verulamium in 466. Roger of Wendover, from unknown sources, gives one in 512, perhaps the same. Geoffrey of Monmouth attributes such a victory to Uther, but is, of course, to be neither trusted for the event nor tied to any time. But perhaps the same organization of Welsh resistance which checked the

West Saxons in Dorsetshire served also to bar the advance of the East Saxons for a time. In 586, Roger of Wendover places the general flight of the Welsh westward, and at about the same time, *hac tempestate*, he speaks of the ruin of the Church of St. Albans and of the abandonment of London by its Bishop. His dates are not accurate, and rather before this time, probably, the East Saxons had swept victoriously round the Essex forests, and closed upon London and the Thames Valley. The East Saxons, in the latter part of the sixth century, were dependent upon the King of Kent. When London had ceased to resist, the Kentish men too would be free to push up the valley of the Thames, and overrun North-East Surrey. But perhaps the East Saxon subjects of Kent spread before them into the county, and the earliest Middlesex, a branch of the East Saxons, may have reached where the bricks of London are reaching to-day, from Barnet to Croydon and beyond.¹

Ethelbert, King of Kent, afterwards the first Christian English King, succeeded to the crown in 560 or 565. At whichever date he became King he was quite young, a fact which testifies to the comparative civilization of his kingdom. This civilization, or a claim to suzerainty, founded on his descent, stirred him to strive for the supremacy over more than Kent and the East Saxons. The border district of Surrey became his natural prize, and a stepping-stone to yet further intended conquests. But a mightier warrior lay in his path—Ceawlin of Wessex—ready to dispute the possession of Surrey, and with it the supremacy of the South. Which King was the aggressor is as hard to decide as is usually the case in such a war. William of Malmesbury says that Ethelbert invaded the territories of his neighbours.

¹ Up the Thames Valley from London, and along the dry cleared slopes of the northern edge of the chalk downs, from Croydon to near Guildford, the system of compact villages with large common fields prevailed till the end of the last century, and apparently prevailed thereabouts only in Surrey. It is just possible that we have here the remains of East Saxon settlement before the West Saxon conquest of the whole county. See Chapter XXII.

Ethelwerd says that Ceawlin and his brother Cutha "civile commoverunt bellum contra Æthelbyrtum." Henry of Huntingdon cautiously affirms that the strife arose "variis causis compellantibus." The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says nothing about causes at all. The *variæ causæ* may be plausibly summed up in the fact that Surrey lay between Ethelbert and Ceawlin, that both their peoples occupied its borders on opposite sides, and that they both wanted it all. At any rate, the first recorded war between two English Kings was fought for the possession of Surrey, in 568. The West Saxons overthrew the Kentish men, and slew two of their leaders, Oslac and Cnebba, at Wipandune, or Wibbandune, or Vubbandune, according to various spellings. Ethelbert was driven back into Kent, and Surrey passed under the control of the West Saxons, and no doubt was further settled by them.

Where the battle was is not certain. It is usually put at Wimbledon, and the Ridgeway at Wimbledon is no doubt part of an ancient road leading from the direction of Kent towards Kingston and Weybridge. Camden says that the now demolished camp on Wimbledon Common was called Bensbury, and he connects it with the slain Ealdorman Cnebba. Wimbedounyngemerke and Benanberwe occur next each other as names on a boundary in a charter of King Edgar's and do represent Wimbledon and Bensbury. But this and other old forms of Wimbledon, such as Wimbaldon and Wymbalton, hardly suggest Wippa's or Wibba's dun. If the story that Ethelbert was invading his neighbour's territory be true, we should look for the scene of battle further west. Worplesden, near Guildford, has been suggested, but at a venture.

It is possible to be more precise. The actual name of Wipandune seems to have existed on the heaths near Chobham, on the line of the Roman road which goes from Staines to Silchester and Winchester. In a charter of Chertsey Abbey of the reputed date of 675, giving boundaries of the Manors of Chertsey, Thorpe, Egham, and Chobham,

we can follow the boundary by known names till we come to Wipsedone, and thence the line is carried on "along the street"—that is, the Roman road. The actual date of this edition of the charter is much later than 675, for the uncritical monk who wrote it puts in as a boundary-mark the hedge of Giffreus de la Croix, and no one in England bore such a name till after the Norman Conquest, or even till after the Crusades. This, however, does not vitiate the authenticity of the other names in the charter, but does explain why the genitive case of Wibba, or Wippa, or Wipa is altered from the older to the modern form, so that Wipandune has become Wipsedone. In all likelihood the battle was fought, therefore, in the West Saxon land, and the expression of the chroniclers that Ethelbert was driven back "even as far as Kent"—"usque ad Kent," or "usque in Kent"—suits better the twenty-five miles of retreat to Kent from here, than the six miles and a half over which he would have had to retreat from Wimbledon. Naturally, the place of the battle is to be found upon a road. Military movements are determined always by the lines of communication in a country.

The Battle of Wipandune decided more than the fate of Surrey. It cut off Kent from any possible expansion and greatness. It was followed by the great conquests of Ceawlin and Cutha over the Welsh in Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire. The fruit of these victories afterwards passed to the Mercians, but they decided that the supremacy of the English race was not to rest with the now cooped-in kingdoms of the South-east. Essex and Sussex as well as Kent were set their limits. Ethelbert later was for a time powerful, but he did not resume Surrey as part of his immediate kingdom. Had he done so, it would surely have been linked to the West Kent sub-kingdom and bishopric, and it is only by very recent arrangements that a Bishop of Rochester rules in East Surrey.

When Surrey was contended for between Ceawlin and Ethelbert, its Welsh population had only just been scattered

or overcome. There are no marks of Kentish, or at least Jutish, population in Surrey, in either speech or features. The East Saxon subjects of Ethelbert had, as we have seen, perhaps begun to fill the centre of the county and the Thames Valley, perhaps the borders of Kent, too, for there are Bromleys and Plaistows on each side of the river. But Essex shared in the defeat of Kent, and the sons of Sebert of Essex were again defeated by the West Saxons after 616. The only possible remains of a Kentish occupation in Surrey are the several parishes, chiefly in North-East Surrey, originally peculiar of the See of Canterbury. These were Croydon, East Horsley, Merstham, Wimbledon, including Putney, Barnes, including Mortlake, Burstow, Newington, Cheam and Charlwood. With the exceptions of East Horsley, not far from Guildford, and Charlwood and Burstow, down in the forest near the Sussex border, these all lie to the north or east of the county. The Domesday manors of the Archbishop are in the same places or neighbourhood, Croydon, Cheam, Mortlake, Walworth, Merstham, East Horsley, all held by the see before the Conquest. These may possibly mark places where Kentish men had intruded into Surrey.

The eastern boundary of Surrey was apparently fixed after Ceawlin's victory, to include the East Saxon settlements south of the Thames, and these possible Kentish settlements beyond the original limit of early Kentish conquest. There was no fixed boundary to the South up to the time of the Domesday Survey, when places in the forest, now in Sussex, were counted as parts of Surrey. Worth and Lodsworth in Sussex, for example, are in the Surrey Survey. This boundary looks very like a line drawn roughly east and west through a wilderness, with something like the object, but with less than the precision, of the line between the formerly uninhabited parts of Canada and the United States.



CHAPTER V.

MERCIAN, DANISH AND NORMAN INVASION.

SURREY, from its position, and the circumstances of its settlement and conquest, remained a debatable land for a time. Its connexion ecclesiastically with Winchester, the West Saxon bishopric, marks its political condition, when in the seventh century Cenwealh adopted Christianity as the faith of the West Saxons. But Surrey was not quite so distinctly an inseparable part of the West Saxon kingdom as Hampshire, for instance, or Berkshire were. Ceawlin the conqueror, after extending West Saxon dominions on all sides, perished in 593 at the hands of a combination of enemies. His successors were occupied chiefly with the wars in which they gradually wrested the West out of the hands of the Welsh. We hear of occasional successful invasions by them of the South Saxons, and of wars with Kent, but the great power of the Mercians, in the middle of England, seems to have generally kept the upper hand over them. Penda, the great champion of expiring English heathendom, had defeated the West Saxons north of the Thames in 628, and in 644 had for a time expelled their King, Cenwealh. The death of Penda, in 655, gave only a temporary check to the power of Mercia in the South, though in the North Northumbria overshadowed it for some thirty years. Wulfhere, the second Mercian King after Penda, defeated the West Saxons, marching right

through their territory to the Isle of Wight, and was supreme over Surrey, where he founded the Benedictine abbey at Chertsey in 666. We learn from the charter, exhibited by the abbey as their title to lands, that there was in 675 an Under-King in Surrey, Frithwald, dependent upon Wulfhere. He is the only English King in Surrey whose name is preserved. He, and probably others like him, ruled over "the Southern Kingdom," the Mercian territory south of the Thames which had no other name.

In the next century three vigorous Mercian Kings bade fair to become rulers of all the English. Ethelbald, Offa and Cenwulf, ruling from 716 to 819, were undoubted masters of South-East England. The West Saxons had enough to do, fighting the Welsh in the West, and defending the limits of their original dominions against the Mercians. Essex, Kent and Sussex became Mercian dependencies, and Surrey could scarcely fail to follow with them. These Kings who were masters of London and the neighbourhood, according to the definite statement of Florence of Worcester, and who pursued their objects not only in Kent, but in dealings with the Franks beyond the Channel, could not but be masters of Surrey. There is evidence that in 755 Surrey was under the Mercians. Sigebert, King of the West Saxons, was in that year, because of his bad government, deprived of all the western part of his kingdom, and confined to Hampshire only. Had Surrey been part of the West Saxon kingdom at the time, either it must have remained to Sigebert with Hampshire, or else Henry of Huntingdon's statement that the King was deprived of the western parts only of his kingdom is inaccurate. If he was deprived of Surrey, he was deprived of his eastern dominions. That Cynewulf his successor was murdered at Merton in 788 is not conclusive that a West Saxon King was at home in Surrey then. The place may be Merton in Wiltshire, not Merton in Surrey, and Cynewulf was slain while visiting a lady who may not have been his subject.

All doubt, however, as to the rule of Surrey passed away

when the strained relations between the Mercian Kings and the Franks led to the return of Egbert from the Court of the latter to take his place as King of the West Saxons. Prompted by the example, perhaps aided by the support, of the revived Empire abroad, Egbert began to reduce the island of Britain. In 825 he defeated the Mercians, and Kent, Surrey, Sussex and Essex accepted his overlordship. William of Malmesbury tells us that all these had formerly obeyed West Saxon Kings. Latterly ruled under the suzerainty of Mercia, they now passed for good and all into the hands of the West Saxons. Only Essex was for a time separated again under the Danes. In 838 or 836, at the extreme end of his reign, Egbert held the Council, at Kingston in Surrey, at which Ceolnoth, the Archbishop of Canterbury, made the lasting alliance between the West Saxon throne and the Metropolitan See which did much to perpetuate the rule of both in their respective civil and ecclesiastical supremacies in Britain. Ceolnoth perhaps dreaded that the example of Offa, who had tried to erect his own Mercian See of Lichfield into an archbishopric, might be followed by other Kings, and made an alliance with Egbert in order that Canterbury might not be overshadowed by Winchester.

Kingston, from its name, must have been already a royal possession. It was royal demesne in Domesday, and had been such under King Edward. Camden's old name for it, Moreford, rests upon unknown authority. If any Kings had lived there, they must surely have been the Under-Kings of Surrey, of whom Frithwald is the only survivor by name. The Chertsey charter, it is true, gives Frithwald a house near Thorpe or Chertsey. But at any rate Kingston was afterwards the place of crowning of several kings, Edward the Elder, Ethelstan, Edred, Edwig, Edward the Martyr, Ethelred the Unready, and by one account Edgar. Yet it was in no sense the capital of the West Saxon kingdom which ruled Britain. That was certainly Winchester, so far as there was any capital at all.

The supremacy of Egbert did not imply the merging of all the kingdoms in that of the West Saxons. The old lines of native rulers continued for a while in Mercia and East Anglia, till the Danish invasion destroyed them. Ethelstan, by one account son of Egbert, by another account, more probably true, eldest and possibly illegitimate son of Ethelwulf, became Under-King of Kent, Essex, Surrey and Sussex, all recognised as separate districts, though united under him.

The coherence of the new dominion was, before Egbert died, beginning to be threatened by the Danish invasions, and Surrey became the scene of a brilliant effort of resistance, which was not among the least of the determining causes of the permanence of the West Saxon rule.

In 852 or 851 the storm of Danish invasion burst upon the South-East of England. The civil wars of Denmark and Scania had led to the expulsion from the North of a large body of turbulent people, who had gone to reinforce the Scandinavian settlement which the Emperor Lothair had allowed to settle at Dort on the Rhine, to guard his frontier from their kinsfolk, as Charles the Simple guarded the mouth of the Seine by the settlement of Rolf at Rouen. As happened, too, in the early days of the Rouen colony, an influx of new settlers used this colony as a basis for aggression. The Danish adventurers, mustering at Dort, broke into two bodies, one invading Flanders, the other crossing the sea to England. These latter fought the Under-King Ethelstan, near Sandwich, and occupied Thanet for the winter.¹

Starting thence, they burnt Canterbury, and, passing up the Thames, defeated Beorhtwulf of Mercia, and sacked London. The Mercian King, "*qui nunquam postea vigit*," according to Henry of Huntingdon, died shortly afterwards. The crisis was a terrible one. There were, according to the Chronicle,

¹ The exact order of the events about Sandwich is obscure. In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle we read of a defeat of the Danes in 851, the year to which the Chronicle attributes Ockley. But a defeat at Sandwich can hardly have been followed by a wintering of Danes in Thanet, or by the sack of Canterbury. It was a defeat of some small party, or else a strategic victory for Ethelstan, or else the date is wrong.

350 ships of the invaders, two of the three chief cities of the South-east had been sacked, and Winchester and her King alone stood between the Danes and the rule of the gates of England towards the Continent. After the devastation of London the heathen men marched through Surrey, by the Roman Stone Street. It would lead them through the forest down to the coast, whither, no doubt, their ships would go to meet them, and whence they could march easily upon Winchester. It gave them, too, another line, if turning off by Dorking they preferred to follow the Pilgrims' Way to the same point. Armies, even of semi-barbarians, operate by choice on roads, especially in a wild, uncleared country. The Danes would have horses with them, and might carry supplies. They could not subsist 5,000 or 6,000 men for long on local plunder in the Weald in those days. But Ethelwulf, the son of Egbert and father of Alfred, with his son Ethelbald, lay in the way. North of the forest, near Ockley, they guarded the forest road, and could command ready access to the Pilgrims' Way by the cross Roman road over Ewhurst Hill towards Guildford. The Danes did not shirk a battle, and the night before the fight they lay in the British camp on Anstiebury, half a mile from the Roman road. Local tradition used to call it the Danish Camp, but they did not make it. It is too elaborate for a passing body of invaders, nor did the Danes make camps of this fashion. Next day they were exterminated by the West Saxons in the great battle "hard by Ockley Wood." It was fought on the slopes of Leith Hill, above Ockley, where in 1882 extensive remains of bones in the last stage of decay, and two rude oak coffins, were found on Etherley Farm. Henry of Huntingdon, with a ballad before his eyes or in his memory, writes of the "warriors charging together as thick as ears of corn, and rivers of blood rolling away the heads and limbs of the slain." Abroad, Prudentius of Troyes writes that he never heard of such a defeat of the heathen men, with such slaughter in one day. Sigebert of Gemblours ascribes the victory to the

interposition of Heaven. These foreign notices show the importance of the victory. It saved Southern England for Christianity and the West Saxon dynasty, and ranks even above Wipandune as a decisive battle moulding the fortunes of the South, and of the dynasty which was to rule the whole country.

A party of the fugitives are said by local tradition to have been cut off at Gatton by the inhabitants. They must have been escaping by the cross-road, through Newdigate, Reigate and Gatton, towards the Thames. The battle lives in popular tradition still, a testimony to the greatness of the deliverance. Asser, or the compiler who passes as Asser, the historian of Alfred, uses more emphatic language about Ockley than he gives to any of Alfred's victories, and those victories would have been impossible without the respite and time for the consolidation of West Saxon rule which were won among the woods and on the hills of Surrey. For twenty years no heathen invaders came south over the Thames.

As the Danish invasions became more frequent the country about the lower part of the Thames was necessarily the scene of warfare. The invaders apparently never came straight across the North Sea to Britain. The Norsemen proper crossed from Norway to the Shetlands, and thence went by Orkney to either the Western Islands and Ireland, or down the east coast of Scotland. The Danes coasted by Germany and Flanders to the narrow seas, and crossed to the southern and eastern coasts of England. Those who followed this line made continually for the mouth of the Thames, as the readiest door into the interior of the country. In 855 a force of Danes wintered in Sheppey. In 860 another party surprised Winchester from the sea, but were cut to pieces while retreating to their ships.

The great invasion which nearly destroyed the independence of Wessex in 871 was made by the Danes who had overrun Mercia and East Anglia, and who crossed the middle Thames. The nine great battles of that year were

most of them in Berkshire. The defeat of the Danes at Englefield was at Englefield in Berkshire, between the Kennet and the Thames, not at Englefield in Surrey.

But the Danes finally retired towards London, and Ethelred and Alfred fought them at Merton in Surrey, and were defeated. Ethelred died shortly afterwards, perhaps of wounds received at Merton. The brass on his tomb at Wimborne Minster, of many centuries' later date, says that he was killed by the Danes.

The story of how his brother Alfred gradually wrested Southern and South-Western England out of the hands of the Danes belongs to general history. But in 886 he was master of Surrey, and rebuilt certainly the fortifications, perhaps the city, of London. London played an important part in his general scheme of defence against the Danes of Essex, East Anglia and Eastern Mercia, as a bridge on the river and a gate of intercourse with foreign civilization. Again, the fortunes of Surrey must have been closely involved with those of the city on its border. But in 893 the enemy, under a new leader, Hastings, built themselves two fortresses—one at Milton, near Gravesend, to block the Thames, the other at Appledore, near the mouth of the Rother, at the extremity of the Wealden Forest, and from the latter they plundered along the Sussex coast or round the northern edge of the forest, according as they found opportunity. Alfred's main force, watching Hastings, seems to have lain on the borders of Kent and Surrey, resting upon London. Once, when the force from Appledore had eluded his vigilance and passed into Surrey, he overtook them by a forced march and defeated them severely at Farnham, driving them away from their base, across the Thames. After weary years of warfare he cleared the Southern counties, and Surrey was freed from foreign invasion till the great war of Sweyn and Cnut began.

The system by which Edward, the son of Alfred, fortified the land against the Danes was extended to Surrey. The Burghal hidage, to which attention has been recently drawn

by Professor Maitland,¹ tells us how the land was charged with the defence of the burhs, the newly erected fortifications, and for Wessex we are given a complete list, beginning with east Sussex, continuing westward along the coast, and then returning inland to the neighbourhood of London. The various counties were, in fact, charged with something like what would, after the Norman Conquest, have been called castle ward, supplying men according to their rating in hides to garrison the burhs. In Surrey we find, "*To Eschingum and to Suthringa geweorc*, 1,800 hides." The Domesday hidage of Surrey is 1,830 hides.

The latter fortress is readily identified with Southwark. The old Roman works at the foot of London Bridge were probably repaired by Alfred when he restored the Roman walls north of the river. The river could not be properly blocked, nor the bridge held till this was done. The former name presents some difficulties. It is in modern language Eashing, and we find it too in Alfred's will. But the modern Eashing is not a place for a burh. It lay in those days out of the way, among heaths and woods, some miles from the lines of communication across the country. Where a burh was wanted was at Guildford, on the Pilgrims' Way, and at the passage of the river, where an enemy going from east to west was almost bound to pass. Farnham, too, was on the road, and fighting had actually occurred there in Alfred's days. The burhs generally became boroughs in the later sense, and Guildford became the county borough, and was the site of a certainly ancient fortress. At Eashing there is no record or relic of a town or fortress. Eashing is emphatically a tribal name, a people or kindred, the Sons of the Ash. It is tempting to suppose that this territory reached what is now Guildford, and that the burh stood among the Sons of the Ash. The name Guildford existed, too, in 901, and may have gradually supplanted the more general name, which became restricted to a particular settlement of the people at some distance from the fortified town. But this is

¹ "Domesday Book and Beyond," F. W. Maitland, p. 502, etc.

merely conjectural. What is certain is that there were two burhs in Surrey, the defence of which was provided by a district of about the same size as the Domesday county.

When the wars began again, in the reign of Ethelred, Surrey suffered in common with the whole country. It is difficult to disentangle the stories of ravage from the pages of the contemporary chronicler. But in 1001 the Danes passed through Surrey from Kent to Alton, in Hampshire, and in 1009, retreating from Oxford towards their ships, they crossed the Thames at Staines. In 1016 King Edmund Ironsides crossed the Thames at Brentford, where many of his men were drowned, and defeated the heathen on the Surrey side of the river. And ever, through the darkness and distress of these days, the stout-hearted citizens of London held out against "the army," as the Danes are called, though Sweyn and Cnut beset their walls, and though Olaf Tryggvessen fought in vain against London Bridge with a Norwegian fleet of Vikings. The Suthringa geweorc must still have covered the foot of London Bridge in those days. There was a great deal of fighting in the Thames and on the Surrey shore during these wars. But the untrustworthy Heimskringla tells, and Carlyle, in his "Kings of Norway," repeats, what must be an imaginary story of St. Olaf helping the English against the Danes when the latter were in possession of London. The details of the story, how St. Olaf carried off London Bridge by hawsers fastened to his ships, are doubtfully possible, and the historic circumstances of an attack upon Danes in London never occurred. The Danes never held London except by the goodwill of the London men. Olaf Tryggvessen's naval defeat in the Thames is probably at the bottom of the story. The Church of St. Olaf in Southwark, whence Tooley Street, in reality St. Olaf's Street, is named, owes its dedication to the long subsequent popularity of the saint among Northern seamen, not to any enterprise of his in the eleventh century.

Cnut in 1016, before the Battle at Brentford, was besieging London, and had dug a ditch through the Surrey marshes.

by which he might draw his ships at high-water above London Bridge. Absurdly enough, various drains and water-courses have been identified with this work. But though here and there a causeway might have to be cut through, the whole country, round where Southwark is, was so low and so constantly overflowed at high-water that no great engineering feat was necessary to enable what were only what we should now call big fishing-boats to be pulled across it at high-tide.¹ The fighting about London in these wars involved Surrey in special ravage.

Surrey was the scene of one more dark and perplexing historical event before the coming of the Normans. When Cnut died in 1035, his English kingdom was divided between his sons, Harold and Harthacnut, half-brothers. The great Earl Godwine had spoken strongly for the claims of the latter to the whole realm, and seems to have been his trusted Minister, and the supporter of his mother Emma, in Wessex, which was the portion of Harthacnut. But Harthacnut tarried in Denmark, and Harold was the sole King in the country when the Etheling Alfred, Harthacnut's half-brother, son of Ethelred the Unready and Emma, landed with followers from Normandy, and sought his mother and Harthacnut's at Winchester, doubtless with designs upon the succession. That he was arrested and put to death, and that many of his followers were slain, is certain. Also that some suspicion of treachery attached to his seizure, in English opinion, is clear too. He was arrested at Guildford. According to Florence of Worcester, he had come from Wissant, had no doubt landed in Kent, and was travelling by the Pilgrims' Way to Winchester.

According to one version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and also according to other authorities, it was Godwine who arrested him, and gave him up to Harold, who put him to a cruel death. The great panegyrist of the House of Godwine,

¹ The feat is not at all incredible. The Danes did a similar thing at Paris in 886, pulling their boats round overland to the Upper Seine, over more difficult country than the Lambeth marshes.

Mr. Freeman, has made an almost passionate defence of Godwine, and even tries to prove that he had probably nothing to do with the deed because he was Harthacnut's servant, and not Harold's. But the whole policy of Godwine and his sons leads us to believe that they would support anyone rather than a Normanizing leader, and Godwine may well have felt that in the absence of Harthacnut his service was due to the lawfully chosen King of Mercia, London, East Anglia and Northumberland, Harold, rather than to a pretender supported from Normandy. Popular English opinion might see treachery in handing over an English Etheling to a Danish King, as popular opinion, even outside Jacobite circles, would have been moved by an Englishman handing over James Stewart to George of Hanover. The deed at Guildford is susceptible of reasonable explanation, and the cruelty of the treatment of Alfred and his companions is only too characteristic of the age and race of Harold. Mr. Freeman allows that the act of Godwine may have been open to "grievous misconception."

That there was a seizure, and slaughter of some sort at Guildford, and that Godwine was supposed by contemporaries to have been engaged in it as a principal, is fairly evident from history. On motives we can only offer conjectures, but motives are not far to seek.

The reign of Alfred's more fortunate brother, Edward, saw no great events in Surrey. Godwine occupied Southwark when he returned from banishment in 1052. When the brief reign of Harold, Godwine's son, had ended gloriously upon the hill at Battle, the Norman Conqueror marched through the county. He had swept round through Kent, by Romney, Dover and Canterbury, and advanced ravaging the country towards London. At Southwark there seems to have been a skirmish, and the suburb, or part of it, was burned by the invaders. But the Londoners retained possession of the bridge, and William did not venture to attack it. As usual with medieval warriors, he did not care to attempt London from across the Thames,

and he accordingly moved westward, wasting the country into Hampshire.

It may be possible to follow the course of the Norman army, not merely from the stories of the Conquest, but from the evidence of the Domesday Survey taken twenty years later. The value of manors is given in Domesday at three times T. R. E., or *Tempore Regis Edwardi, Post*, or in A.D. 1067, and *Modo*, or when the Survey was taken. At least in many cases all three values appear. When the decrease in value between 1065 and 1067 is marked, and is followed by a recovery at the time of the Survey, showing the normal value to be near or above that of King Edward's days, it is plausibly argued that some great but temporary misfortune must account for the change. Such a misfortune, at such a time, must surely be the passage of William's army.¹

A similar range of ravage can be traced in both Kent and Surrey. East Kent, except Thanet, seems thoroughly wasted. The line of ravage then concentrates on one line westward from Maidstone, till about Seale, whence, apparently, William's main force marched north-westward to Southwark, while a detachment followed the ordinary route near Westerham, which was thoroughly wasted, into Surrey. Most of East Surrey is wasted. It is difficult to find any track of ravage north of the Pilgrims' Way; thirty-six manors east of the Mole show great deterioration in value. But near Southwark, while Camberwell, Battersea, and Mortlake suffered very severely, Hatcham, Clapham, and Kennington did not apparently suffer at all. There must have been some method in the ravaging; it was not mere foraging. It is significant that Battersea and Mortlake had belonged to Harold. Yet Bermondsey, which also belonged to him, did not suffer. But the force which came from Westerham along the Pilgrims' Way left traces of its march at Limpsfield, which had been Harold's land, at Titsey,

¹ See a paper by Mr. Baring in the *English Historical Review*, January, 1898, entitled "The Conqueror's Footprints in Domesday." The paper is very ingenious. It will be seen by comparison that the view expressed in the text differs from it in some details only.

Tandridge, Oxsted, Godstone, Chivington, Blechingley, Nutfield, Gatton, Merstham, and on their right flank at Woldingham, Tillingham, Farley, and Chelsham. Reigate, Dorking and Shiere, which belonged to Queen Edith, were spared. But omitting these, the ravage runs in a marked line on the road to Winchester, by Betchworth, Milton, Westcott, Abinger, all slightly deteriorated. Wotton is spared. It belonged to Harold, but in 1086 was held by an Englishman who was living in 1066, and had submitted at once to William. He may have been in actual occupation under Harold then. Further, on or near the line of the road, Gomshall, Albury, Shalford, West Horsley, Compton, Wimborough and Farnham were all badly wasted. William must have marched his main body south-westward from Southwark by the Stone Street, and have reunited his forces again near Dorking. The chalk country in Wallington and Copthorne hundreds shows a good deal of damage. But except for a raid up the Thames as far as Walton, the line of ravage runs in a narrow strip through West Surrey, from the Mole Valley to Farnham. Thence William went near enough to Winchester to secure its submission, turned through Berkshire, and crossed the Thames at Wallingford. There were no bridges lower down except at London, for the Roman bridge at Staines had disappeared, and at Wallingford was a well-known ford, and a bridge, it is said, over the river. Thence he closed in on London from the north-west, and received the submission of the city at Berkhamstead. With his march a chapter of the history of England, and of its Southern counties, closes. Though Kent was the scene of the first of the isolated revolts against William, there is no evidence that the movement spread to Surrey. The ancient Wessex remained in submission, even if in fearful and unwilling submission, to the King who first bound English counties together for good and all into one kingdom, and who completed the work of union under the King of the South, begun by Ceawlin on the soil of Surrey 500 years before.



CHAPTER VI.

THE DOMESDAY SURVEY OF SURREY—SURREY AFTER THE CONQUEST.

THE Domesday Survey gives us the opportunity of a more complete view of the condition of Surrey under Edward the Confessor, and under the Conqueror, than is possible at any earlier or at many later times. Geographically the county was not limited precisely as at present. The great forest on the south, still mostly uninhabited, rendered any formal boundary between Sussex and Surrey unnecessary or hard to define. In the whole of the Survey there are only two places named in Surrey on the Wealden clay, Ockley and Eversheds. These lay on or close by the Roman Stone Street, and were therefore accessible. In the collection of charters, of a reputed date before Domesday, only three places appear upon this soil. These are *Pedanbrycg*, which may be Pettridge, *Leangefeld*, which seems to be Limpsfield, and *Đunresfeld*, which may be Thundersfield, near Horley. This last, however, is named in Alfred's will in connection with Eashing, and may be more probably Thundersfield in Godalming parish, on the sand. The name of the heathen god Thunor is naturally found in that neighbourhood, along with the rest of the early English pantheon. There are many names on the Wealden clay which are certainly as old as heathendom, like this last, but this country was obviously so sparsely

inhabited as to be not taxable in 1086. A glance at the Domesday map of Sussex will show that there too the proportion of places named on the Wealden clay was very small, and confined mostly to the edges of the clay, near the downs or the Hastings sand. But as a consequence of the indeterminate state of the border line, Lodsworth in Sussex, five miles and a half south of the present Surrey frontier, and Worth in Sussex, two miles south of it, are reckoned in Surrey in the Survey. Lodsworth, in the forest, was held by Chetel, the King's huntsman. The church at Worth, not mentioned in the Survey, is a well-known example of a partly pre-Norman church.

Of the fourteen hundreds in Surrey, twelve are mentioned in Domesday under their later names, to wit, Chertsey or Godley, Elmbridge or Emleybridge, Kingston, Brixton, Woking, Copthorne, Effingham—which was later sometimes reckoned with Copthorne and called the half-hundred of Effingham—Wallington, Godalming, Blackheath, Wotton and Tandridge. The present Reigate Hundred is called Cherchefelle. Farnham Hundred is not named, but seems to be represented by the land of the Bishop of Winchester, which has no name of a hundred before it. "Saint Peter always held it," and the Bishop, whose see is in the Church of St. Peter at Winchester, still rules the Church of part of Surrey from Farnham Castle, and is the most ancient landholder in the county. The Surrey hundreds throw no light upon the question of the origin of that division. They are of unequal sizes, and must always have been of unequal population and value.

There are some small differences in the boundaries of the hundreds then and now. Chessington was then in Kingston Hundred, but is now in Copthorne. Banstead was then in Wallington Hundred, and as late as Speed's map of the county, in 1610, is in the same, but it has been since reckoned in Copthorne. Borough and North and South Tadworth, all in Banstead parish, were in Copthorne Hundred in 1086, as they are now. There is a difficulty

about the two Betchworths. East Betchworth, where there is a church containing Norman work, is now in Reigate Hundred. West Betchworth, where there is no record of a church at all, is now in Wotton Hundred. But in 1086 Richard de Tonbridge held Betchworth, where there was a church, in Wotton Hundred. He also held a Betchworth in Copthorne Hundred; he was given this Betchworth along with Thorncroft in Copthorne, and it bordered on Thorncroft. The best explanation seems to be that this is West Betchworth, now transferred from Copthorne to Wotton, and that the Betchworth with a church is East Betchworth, transferred from Wotton to Reigate. All these changes are about the borders of Copthorne Hundred, which seems the most liable to alterations of any. Outlying houses and lands in Southwark, for instance, and even in Kent, Hampshire, London and Windsor, are reckoned as attached to various Surrey manors. There would seem to be some cases of mistakes. Ockley, for instance, which is in the middle of Wotton Hundred, is reckoned in Woking, and Worplesden, Week, Burgham and Littlefield, which are in the middle of Woking, are reckoned in Wotton. There might, of course, be a Littlefield anywhere, but there is ground for suspicion that in the other cases, at least, Lanfranc's countrymen, the Lombard clerks, struggling with barbarous names, simply wrote Woking for Wotton, and *vice versa*, for Woking and Wotton are completely detached from each other. There could be no confusion of boundaries.

Very few places named in Domesday are now irrecoverable. Dritham, Pechingeorde and Bramselle are such. But the two former can be placed within narrow limits in the half-hundred of Effingham.

The population of the county in 1086 can of course be arrived at only with great uncertainty. There was only one land-owner, the King, and forty tenants in chief, the greater number of whom were not inhabitants of the county. The King held in demesne Guildford, Woking, Wallington,

Reigate, Ewell, Fetcham, Gomshall, Shiere, Dorking and Godalming. The notorious Ranulf Flambard, afterwards the Minister of William Rufus, was Rector of Godalming and held land there and at Tuesley of the King. The tenants in chief include Archbishop Lanfranc, who had his seat at Croydon. The Bishop of Winchester held Farnham. Bishop Osbern of Exeter, an old Norman favourite of Edward the Confessor, held a church and land at Woking, which had been his in King Edward's time; two English homagers were probably resident holders under him. He also held Titing, in Chilworth, which he apparently claimed to have held under King Edward, but which the men of the hundred say he did not then hold. The King's half-brother, Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, held much land, and more than he could lawfully defend as his. He had estates at Bramley, Tatsfield, Mitcham, Rodsell, Farncombe, Witford, Banstead, Chaldon, Hatcham, Gatton, Peckham, Cuddington, Mickleham, Weybridge, Esher, Thames Ditton, Southwark, and other places. Neither English nor Norman, Churchman nor layman, nor the King himself, was safe from the greed of the Bishop. He is said to have withdrawn from the King the customary payments of a house in Guildford, to have deprived the King's Reeve of the Manor of Farncombe and to have taken land unlawfully in Weybridge. In Southwark he is accused of having usurped the King's share of wharfage dues, and of having bullied the Sheriff out of an attempt to recover them. He has wrongfully laid to his own Manor of Bramley two hides in Clandon belonging to the Abbey of Chertsey. He has taken a parcel of arable land from the Church of Lambeth, and two hides from the Abbey of Westminster. Odo had fallen into disgrace with the King before 1086, so perhaps complaints were made more confidently against him. But the Earl of Moretaine, the Abbey of Chertsey, Geoffrey de Mandeville, Richard de Tonbridge and one Wigot held or claimed land which is in dispute. The Abbey of Chertsey declares that Richard Sturmid at Chertsey is the tenant of the abbey, and not of

the King. The claim is apparently allowed, as he does not appear among the "Tenentes in Capite."

To continue the list of these, we find next enumerated, after the Bishops, the Abbeys of Westminster, Winchester and Chertsey, the Abbey of St. Wendrille in the Diocese of Rouen, that of the Cross of St. Leutfred in the Diocese of Evreux, the Abbey of Battle, and the Church of Barking, a nunnery. The Canons of St. Paul's and the Church of Lambeth complete the ecclesiastical corporations holding land. The laymen are headed by Earl Eustace of Boulogne, that is, Earl Eustace the third, not the warrior who by his faint-hearted advice imperilled the victory at Hastings, and vainly tried to supersede the great Norman conqueror himself the next year. His mother, Ida of Lorraine, the Countess of Boulogne, wife to Earl Eustace the second, also held land in her own right at Nutfield. The holdings of Earl Eustace were at Oxted and Godstone. Next come five great names of the nobility of the Conquest. The Earl of Moretaine, another of the King's half-brothers, comes first. His lands were at Lambeth, Bermondsey, and in Wallington Hundred. Earl Roger de Montgomery follows, of the house so powerful in Normandy, in Sussex and in the Welsh Marches, which braved and went down under the power of the Crown in the days of William Rufus and Henry I. He had lands at Compton, Worplesden, Burgham and Loseley. Richard de Tonbridge, the largest landholder in the county, ancestor of the great house of De Clare, which with its earldoms of Gloucester and Hertford played such an important part in the thirteenth century, is next. He held thirty-eight named manors, besides other lands, from Southwark in the north to Ockley in the south, from Chelsham, near the Kent border, to Shalford, near Guildford. Blechingley was his most important possession, and here afterwards was one of the great castles of the De Clares. William de Braiose, Lord of Bramber in Sussex, was Lord also at Tadworth and Little Bookham. William Fitz-Ansculf, who held many manors in different parts of England,

and whose chief seat was at Dudley Castle, held land at Witford, Mitcham, Wandsworth, Milton and Anstie in Dorking parish, Abinger and Paddington in Abinger parish. Then follow other names, some great elsewhere though not great land-holders in Surrey: Walter Fitz-Other, Walter de Douai, Gilbert Fitz-Richer, Geoffrey de Mandeville, ancestor of the Earls of Essex, Geoffrey Orlateile, Edward of Salisbury of the house of Evreux, who bore Henry I.'s banner at the victory of Brenneville over the French King in 1119, Robert the son of William Malet, known in English history before the Conquest, Miles Crispin, Haimo the Sheriff, Humfrey the Chamberlain, Ralph de Felgeres, Alured de Merleburgh—who is omitted in the list of "Tenentes in Capite" at the head of the Survey, while Rainald Fitz-Erchenbald, his subtenant, appears in his place—Albert the clerk, Odard the cross-bowman, Oswold the Thane, an Englishman, Teodric the goldsmith, Tezelin the cook, Ansgot the interpreter, Chetel the huntsman, and Wulwi the huntsman. These last two held what they or their fathers held under King Edward. Teodric the goldsmith had also been undisturbed. Nor are they the only instances of continued possession through the events of the Conquest. At Merton, one Orcus held two hides of the King which he had held under King Edward. Oswold had lost some of his lands, and had become a subtenant to Richard de Tonbridge for others, at Effingham and Mickleham, but still held a good deal that he held under King Edward. As one Seman put himself and his land under Oswold's protection "from the time that King William came into England," we may surmise that Oswold made his submission early. It is worthy of notice that the value of Oswold's own land had never seriously deteriorated. He had made his submission early enough to escape ravage in 1066. Some other apparent anomalies in the exception of certain lands from ravage, while neighbouring estates suffered, may be explicable in the same way. One Azor, an Englishman, dead at the time of the Survey, had not been deprived of all his lands, but

held Henley in Ash till he died, when he made it over to Chertsey Abbey for the good of his soul. He had also acquired land in Effingham in the time of King William. Two small tenants, Seman and Godwin, held a little land at Minchin, in Letherhead, which they had held under King Edward. One widow at Bramley and one of the King's smiths at Carshalton appear also undisturbed. A nameless Englishman and Edric at Chertsey, Godric at Week, Siward at Worth, remain as subtenants since King Edward's time. At Thorncroft and Betchworth four owners, "so free that they could seek a lord where they chose," had sunk to subtenants. One, out of five, still survived as a subtenant at Carshalton; one in Wallington Hundred. Six sokemen at Wandsworth had diminished to four.

Generally, we may say that the confiscation and change of conditions of holding in Surrey had been very extensive, but not quite universal; some obscure people, some useful people, like huntsmen, goldsmiths and interpreters, and two considerable owners, whose position was perhaps scarcely compatible with ardent English patriotism, continued as they were, or only partly despoiled. The holdings had, as a rule, gone into new hands, except, of course, the Church lands. The larger English owners of King Edward's days were probably, almost to a man, to be sought for only on the blood-stained slopes at Battle.

The mass of the English inhabitants are to be found, of course, in the lower classes of society. But these, who were in a state of semi-servitude, had constituted the great majority of the population before the Conquest. The change had, after all, directly affected a very limited number, and that the *villani*, and those below them, were really worse off under their new lords than under the old is not certain.¹ That they were better off in some ways under the new government is almost certain. The peace of the

¹ Freemen and sokemen had suffered no doubt a change for the worse as a rule. But there are no indications of a large number of these in Surrey before the Conquest. What the position of the *villanus*, "the man of the town," had been before 1066 is a difficult question.

country was better kept on the whole, and foreign invasion by anyone else was successfully rebutted by the victorious invaders. Domestic order and security might well outweigh trifling changes in what was, in any case, a depressed social condition.

In all 4,370 men are enumerated, including the tenants in chief. To these must be added the inmates of the Abbey of Chertsey and of the Church of St. Mary Overie in Southwark, the clergy of 64 parish churches and chapels, and the inhabitants of 52 houses in Southwark, 15 of which were "in Southwark and London," perhaps some in one, some in the other. In 75 *hagae* at Guildford there dwelt 175 men, so perhaps about 120 lived in Southwark, besides 16 villeins, bordars and serfs, separately enumerated. Guildford and Southwark are the most populous places mentioned. Then come in the large Manor of Bramley, 140 men; in Kingston 120, Mortlake 110, Godalming 79, Cherchefelle or Reigate 78, Battersea 69, Shalford 50.

The question may still be asked whether these figures are meant to represent actual population or services. Two *villani*, for instance, may mean two villein services, performed by two families containing several grown-up members, and so with *bordarii* and *cotarii*. The *servi*, or serfs, or slaves, must be surely personally enumerated. There was no question of limited service here. Indeed, adding the usual proportion for women and children, we should find the population as actually enumerated to be about 18,000, and looking at the evident absence of towns, and at the great amount of waste in the county quite uninhabited, it is hard to suppose that there were many more. It is possible to roughly check the calculation by comparing these numbers with the population at the time of the poll tax in 1381. The poll tax was levied on all persons above fifteen years of age. The Subsidy Roll shows then 11,778 persons in Surrey, excepting Southwark, and 844 lay persons in Southwark. The sum of these, 12,622, may be fairly doubled to include those of fifteen and under, the clergy and casual

omissions, giving 25,244 people in all. The 4,370 of Domesday are, with half a dozen exceptions, grown men. Quadrupling these to include women and children, we reach 17,480, of whom 544, still excluding clergy, would be in Southwark. The population would have naturally increased, with more peace and prosperity, between 1086 and 1381. The Black Death had devastated the country thrice from twelve to thirty-two years before the latter date, but there had been time for a considerable revival of population. The worst visitation of the Black Death had been a generation back. The population, according to this calculation, would have increased faster in Southwark than in the rural districts; which again would be likely, owing to the great growth of London. Neither enumeration, in 1086 nor 1381, is to be implicitly depended upon, but at least the two are not incompatible, nor on the face of them impossible. That the population was about 18,000 in 1086, and about 26,000 in 1381, is as near a guess as we can make.

The actual numbers of the servile and semi-servile classes given in 1086 are 2,382 *villani*, 922 *bordarii*, 276 *cotarii*, and 503 *servi*. The *villani* were land-holders, with rights in the common fields and waste of the manor, but liable to services, limited perhaps by custom or humanity in places, but in others practically unlimited. The *bordarius* was a cottager, holding a cottage and small parcel of land round it in return for services.¹ The *cotarius* was in a similar condition, but perhaps inferior. The *servus* was, as his name implies, a slave, entirely subject to the will of his master, but certainly not of necessity a domestic slave living in his master's house. The distribution of these classes is noteworthy. On the abbey and Church lands, excluding the Bishops', there is a marked decrease of the *servi* compared with their numbers in the lay and Bishops' lands. On the former the *servi* are about $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the cultivators; on

¹ The bordar may have possessed plough oxen and a share in township land. See the entry on Thames Ditton, where no villeins are mentioned. "Ibi est caruca et dimidia, et iv bordarii et iv servi" (Domesday, 32, a. 1).

the latter they are more than 16 per cent. Twenty-three out of the forty-two *servi* on the Church lands are on the small estates which had come to the Church since the Conquest. The newly endowed Norman churches have no *servi* on their lands. Perhaps these foreign ecclesiastics were the most enlightened landlords. But there seems to be no geographical distribution of the *servi*. The *bordars* and the *cottars*, on the other hand, have a marked local distribution. They only occur once on the same manor, Godalming, and then on different parts of the manor which are in different hands. They seldom occur in the same hundred. Godalming, Wallington and Emleybridge are the three hundreds where *cotarii* are nearly universal to the exclusion of *bordarii*. The only *bordarii* in Godalming Hundred are at Godalming itself, on the part of the manor in royal demesne. In Wallington Hundred there are *bordarii* again only on the royal demesne at Wallington, and on the Archbishop's land at Croydon. In Emleybridge Hundred there is one *bordarius* at Weybridge, and some at East Moulsey, both on the frontiers of the hundred. The other hundreds have very few *cotarii* in them. There are some in Blackheath Hundred, at Bramley, along the border of the *cotarian* Godalming Hundred. There are some in Brixton Hundred, at Tooting, on the borders of the Wallington Hundred. On the Bishop of Winchester's lands there are *bordarii* and no *cotarii*. There is no similarity of soil, or condition, between the three *cotarian* hundreds. The only rule seems to be that there should be no *cotarii* on royal demesne. Surrey stands alone in Domesday among the old Wessex shires in having no *buri* or *coliberti* among its people.¹

The Norman Conquerors have often been accused of depressing the vanquished into one common level of servitude, but this does not look like it. Organized taxation became, no doubt, a depressing burden upon all cultivators, and with regard to their social position, there probably

¹ See Maitland, "Domesday Book and Beyond," p. 36, on the *Buri*.

would be in our eyes little to choose between the hardships of *villanus*, *bordarius* and *cotarius*, and the lowest of these might seem to us to be scarcely more freemen than the *servi* themselves. But there were differences, and these differences, which must have prevailed by local usage before the Conquest, were obviously respected by the administration after it. If a great man like Richard de Tonbridge deprives a peasant of his holding unlawfully, the fact is noted in the inquest.¹ Laws may be harsh and oppressive, but when legal rights and distinctions exist there is a refuge from the worst excesses of central or local tyranny. Above all, it is clear that there is not anarchy.

At the time of the Domesday Survey, there was, we gather, nothing larger than what we should call a village in the whole county. Southwark, we may remember, had been burnt in 1066, and a certain amount of ravage inflicted on the part of the county about it. The population was, however, a little thicker along the Thames Valley, from Weybridge downwards, and in Brixton Hundred, than elsewhere. There is no indication of a county capital. If Kingston had retained any importance since the Danish wars, it was lost by now. Guildford stands at the beginning of the county survey, but merely as one of the King's own manors. It is not specially distinguished. It is said that the County Court was held at Letherhead up to Henry III.'s reign, and was removed by him to Guildford. It is true that a charter of Henry III., of September 7, 1257,² granted to Guildford the privilege of being the place where the justices should hold the Common Pleas of Surrey, and the place of meeting of the County Court. This charter was confirmed in 1377 by Edward III. In the Assize Roll of 43 Henry III., 1259, it appears that the county complained of the inconvenience of the County Court being held at Guildford instead of at Letherhead, as had always

¹ "Ricardus . . . abstulit rusticum qui ibi manebat" (Domesday, 30, a. 2). We do not learn that Richard had to restore the *rusticus*, but the results of Domesday do not always appear.

² Charter Roll 41 Henry III., m. 12.

been the custom.¹ But the "always" of a medieval complaint usually only means "once upon a time." There is no other evidence, beyond the fact that ancient meeting-places were seldom changed, to show that Letherhead had always been the place of meeting before this. It is a place of no importance in Domesday. The ingenuity of amateur etymologists has discovered *leod*, a people, in its name, as a proof that it was the place of meeting of the people, and the meeting-place is traditionally pointed out there. But there is definite evidence that Letherhead had not always been the place, for in 6 Richard I., 1195, the assizes were held at Guildford. The castle there, from its first mention in 1202, is recorded as a prison for the wrong-doers of Sussex as well as of Surrey, which would point to the likelihood of the King's justice being done at Guildford, and not at Letherhead, before the date of Henry III.'s alleged change. The Sheriff's tourn, however, for Copthorne Hundred was held at Letherhead, and sat, perhaps, in the traditional place of assembly.

¹ The words are: "Quod comitatus Surriensis tenetur apud Gildeford qui semper solebat teneri apud Leddrede" (Assize Roll, 873, 43 Hen. III., at Bermondsey).





CHAPTER VII.

THE CASTLES, AND THE BARONS' WARS.

NO castles are mentioned in Surrey in the Domesday Survey; yet there is reason for supposing that the royal Manor of Guildford was not undefended, even before 1066. The building of stone castles was an art of recent cultivation in Normandy itself at the time of the Conquest. The Scandinavian Normans had employed a method of fortification not unlike that of their early English kinsfolk. A natural mound was selected, or more often a mound was artificially raised by scraping together the earth round some slight natural eminence, thereby raising the mound and surrounding it by a ditch. On such a mound a wooden hall for habitation was erected, and wooden palisades guarded the slopes all round. Sometimes this was done inside the circuit of old Roman or British walls or earthworks, which were further repaired or defended by palisades, forming outer works round a citadel. Such works may be seen in perfection at Pevensey and Bramber in Sussex. There is what is probably a mound castle at Abinger in Surrey.¹ The greater number of the castles of

¹ The mound at Abinger is marked as a barrow on the Ordnance Map. It is large for a barrow—not so large, no doubt, as Silbury in Wiltshire; but is Silbury a barrow? The Abinger mound, next the church, is just in the position where we should expect to find a burh, the village fortress. The ancient church is constantly immediately under the wall of the ancient fortress. We may refer again to Bramber as an example, and to St. Mary's in Guildford.

the eleventh and twelfth centuries were still of this construction. When we are told of the 375, or by another account of the 1,115, castles demolished by Henry II. when he came to the throne, we cannot imagine that the skill, money or building-stone at the disposal of the petty as well as the greater barons during the anarchy of Stephen's time had been sufficient to enable them to erect even the smaller number of masonry castles. The greater part of these castles were mounds which could be dismantled for military purposes by throwing down the palisades. Whenever we hear of a castle being taken by storm, we may suspect that, unless there is evidence to the contrary, it was merely a moated and palisaded mound. A stone castle necessitated a laborious siege for its reduction. Such an earthwork, as we have mentioned, very probably existed at Guildford from an early date. The situation was upon the necessary lines of communication north and south through the gap in the chalk, and east and west by the Pilgrims' Way. It was a royal possession from the time of Alfred, in whose will it is mentioned, and he is not likely to have neglected it.

There seems no ground for the popular opinion that it once stood west of the Wey. The name Bury Fields only means that the Common Town fields were there. On the east side of the river a spur from the north slope of the downs runs out towards the river, and is bounded on the west, on the river side, by a sharp declivity, or low cliff almost, easily susceptible of fortification. On the rising crest of this spur the earth has been scraped together into a large mound, with what was once a considerable ditch on the south and east sides, where the chalk was dug for raising the eminence. It is impossible to say that this is not Norman work, but it is very like the mounds of Tamworth and Leicester, which can be dated in the early part of the tenth century. We have suggested that it was perhaps one of Edward's burhs of this date against the Danes. The Norman stone keep, still standing, was added

at an unknown date, but, to judge from the style of the building, very likely by Henry II. It was impossible to build a solid Norman keep upon the top of an artificial mound; the weight was too great for the insecure foundation, even if the mound were two centuries old. Consequently, at Guildford we find that the east wall of the keep is based upon the solid ground, and is built of an extraordinary thickness and solidity to help in holding up the other three sides upon the mound, which are further lightened by being pierced with doors, windows and galleries. There are no galleries, and only two ancient windows, in the eastern wall. The top of the mound was further enclosed by a circular wall, with chambers against it, resting on the keep. The outer ward was enclosed by a wall which apparently ran along the line of Quarry Street, from the King's Head Inn to the existing south-west tower; thence it went by an irregular curve round to near the upper modern entrance to the castle gardens, thence by the side of Castle Street back to the point of starting. Outside it on the west there was another wall above the river. To the north another wall, south of and parallel to the High Street, enclosed a further area outside the main lines of defence.¹

The inhabited part of the castle, where John and Henry III. kept Court, and which Henry III. largely rebuilt, was south of the mound and keep, inside the outer ward. Even while the Court was residing here the keep itself was still used as a prison. The first actual mention of the castle is when King John paid 4 shillings for repairing it as a gaol in 1202; but in 1200 he kept Christmas at Guildford, presumably in the castle, with his newly-married wife, Isabella of Angoulême, whom he had just carried off from her betrothed husband, Hugh de la Marche. John visited Guildford often—no less than nineteen times in eleven different years.

¹ There is no reason for connecting the caves south-west of the castle, nor the two crypts in the High Street, with the castle buildings. Captain James, R.E., showed conclusively that the former were quarries, and the latter were probably always what they are now, cellars.

But the main interest connected with the notices of Guildford Castle consists in the light thrown upon domestic manners and architecture by the directions of Henry III. for the improvement of the royal apartments. On April 4, 1240, the Sheriff of Surrey was directed to repair the glass windows of the King's houses and chapel at Guildford, which had been broken by a storm, and to restore the damaged roofs. In 1245 the Sheriff was to enclose the area by the kitchen, which the King had purchased, with a wall, and to repair the two buttresses of the King's hall, which were out of the perpendicular. In 1246 preparations were ordered for the accommodation of the King's son Edward, who was not quite seven years old. He had a spacious nursery, with bars at the windows to prevent his tumbling out, after the fashion of modern nurseries. Orders were given to build a chamber, with proper windows well barred, 50 feet long and 26 feet wide, with a privy chamber, and below it a chamber for the King's noble pages, with fitting windows, and a privy chamber, and a chimney in each chamber. And the Sheriff is to cause to be made under the wall towards the east, opposite the east part of the King's hall, a pent-house, which, though narrow, shall be long enough, with a chimney and private chamber, for the Queen's wardrobe. In the Queen's private chamber is to be a window at least as wide as, or wider than, the two windows now there, between the two walls—that is, apparently, at the end of the long, narrow building. It is to be as high as it can be fittingly made, with two marble pillars, with wooden lining and glass windows, part of which shall be made to open and shut, and wooden shutters inside. The upper window in the King's hall, towards the west, near the dais, was to be fitted with white glass windows, within the midst of the two lights the figures of a King and of a Queen enthroned. The boys, playfellows of the future Edward I., slept all together, apparently, in a dormitory. Whether they and the King's son had glass in their windows is doubtful. In 1255 the King's chapel, the Queen's chapel, the King's

chamber, and the other chambers newly built, had been wainscoted, and £100 was required to pay the bill. It was also directed that the windows of the King's new chamber should be barred with iron, a porch of stone built to the hall, and in the hall, opposite the King's seat, the story of Dives and Lazarus painted, and the King's seat ornamented with a carving of beasts, and the chamber of the King's Chaplain lengthened. The picture, with no doubt sufficient stress laid upon the ultimate fate of Dives, after the fashion of medieval art, would be peculiarly appropriate opposite the King at dinner, when the feasts of the great were commonly attended by Lazarus at the door ready to receive the broken meats.

All the time the prisoners of Sussex and Surrey were commonly confined in the keep.

Henry III. was at Guildford in 1266, when his son Edward overcame and captured in single combat Sir Adam Gordon, an outlawed adherent of De Montfort, who, after the Battle of Evesham, had retired to the woods of Western Surrey and Hampshire and become a freebooter. The picturesque story of his capture and his pardon was expanded in legend and tradition, and embodied in a ballad, but seems to be substantially true.

As was likely at such a favourite royal residence, there was a park at Guildford, on the west side of the Wey.

A more discreditable and curious side of Court life is shown in the tenure by which some of the royal tenants at Guildford held their lands. Under Henry III. Robert, son of William Testard, held land as "*custos meretricum in curia Domini Regis.*" Robert de Mankesey, alias Gatton, is called "*Mareschallus custodiendo meretrices de curia Domini Regis, et Mareschallus de duodecim puellarum quæ sequuntur curiam Domini Regis.*" Hamo, his son and heir, is "*Mareschallus meretricum cum Dominus Rex venerit in illis partibus.*"¹

¹ The Red Book leaves no manner of doubt that the literal meaning of the passages in question is to be accepted.

Guildford Castle remained a royal castle till 1612, when it was granted to Francis Carter of Guildford, whose son, John Carter, was living in the castle in 1623. It remained in private hands till purchased by the town in 1885.

In spite of its position in what would seem to be an important military situation, it never, so far as is known, stood a siege.

In 1216 it passed into the hands of Louis of France, along with Farnham and Reigate, with no record of fighting, and was surrendered again when he evacuated England in 1217. It probably was in the hands of the King's party during Henry III.'s barons' wars, in the custody of either William de la Zouche or of De Warenne's officers. It is not in the region of any fighting during the Wars of the Roses, and being ungarrisoned during the Civil Wars of Charles I., we may suppose that its defences had been allowed to decay. The keep, no longer needed as a prison, had been rendered less defensible by the opening of larger windows for domestic comfort since it became a house. The roof of some of the outside buildings of Henry III.'s had fallen down early in Richard II.'s reign, as we learn from an entry in his Patent Rolls, and it does not appear whether they were repaired or not. These elaborate apartments do not seem to have been commonly inhabited by the Court after the reign of Edward III., and were perhaps partly ruinous before the seventeenth century, else Mr. Carter would not have lived in the keep. Guildford is by far the most considerable example of medieval military architecture still existing in the county.

Among the other castles which may have been in existence, though unmentioned, at the time of the Domesday Survey was Farnham. Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, is said to have built Farnham Castle, when his brother, King Stephen, had given leave to his partisans everywhere to embattle their houses. But the situation, like that of Guildford, was important as commanding cross-roads; it was, as we have noticed, the site of one of Alfred's victories

over the Danes, and may very well have been a fortified post from that time, or from the period of the systematic fortification of the country by Edward and Ethelstan. The great mound at Farnham is still more obviously artificial than that at Guildford. The way in which it has been treated suggests that the mound existed before the stone castle. When the Norman engineers raised a stone castle for the first time on any site, they built a solid square keep and surrounded it with an outer ward enclosed by a wall, as in London at the Tower. When they wished to improve the strength of an existing palisaded mound, they seldom ventured, as at Guildford, to plant a solid keep even partly upon it. The castles at Christchurch and Clun are the only two known examples of this in England besides Guildford. They ordinarily replaced the palisades by what is called a shell keep, a wall with small towers in front of it and chambers behind it, encircling the mound, as at Arundel and at Lewes. This was done at Farnham, and the work of Henry de Blois was probably to add the stone shell keep to the already existing mound. The peace which the Bishop made with Henry II. probably saved his castle from the demolition which overtook so many of the castles of Stephen's time. But in Henry III.'s reign, after having been, like Guildford, in the hands of Louis and the barons of his party, it was dismantled as a fortress. It was subsequently repaired, and was beautified by William of Wykeham, but was finally ruined as a fortress in the great Civil Wars. The greater part of the present house was built by Bishop Morley after the Restoration—he was Bishop from 1662 to 1684—and it was extensively restored by the late Bishop Thorold.

The line of defence across the county on or in front of the line of the North Downs was completed by the castles at Reigate and Blechingley. Reigate, again, may be an example of an early fortification elaborated at a later period, but there is no artificial mound as at Farnham and Guildford.

A natural hill of sandstone has been escarped and made

nearly rectangular, and perhaps heightened a little by the earth dug out of the ditches made round it. Owing to the absence of early mention, and the almost complete demolition of the castle, it is impossible to speak with confidence about its architectural features, but the natural foundation would have borne the weight of a solid keep. Who built it, and when, is not known for certain, but it may date from the grant of Reigate to the De Warennes by William Rufus.

William Earl de Warenne and of Surrey had a castle there in the reign of King John. The existing vaults under it may, by their architecture, belong to his time. In the time of John, Reigate, like the other Surrey castles, passed into the hands of the party of the French Prince Louis. In the barons' wars of Henry III.'s time the Earl de Warenne supported the King, and Reigate Castle was apparently in the hands of the Royal party during the campaign, which ended at Lewes.

In 1398, after the Earl of Arundel, one of the heirs of the De Warennes, had been executed by Richard II., at the time when that King made his famous stroke for absolute power, Reigate Castle was forfeited to the Crown. It was restored to the Arundel family, with their other possessions, by the Lancastrians, and passed through heiresses, after the failure of the male line of the Arundels, to various families, till at the time of the Civil Wars it was in possession of Lord Monson by purchase. The castle was described in James's reign as decayed, but in 1648, when a Royalist movement was threatened or begun in the Southern counties, the Parliament gave orders, July 4, 1648, for its complete dilapidation, lest it should serve as a rallying-point for their enemies. Hence dates probably its complete ruin. The site was granted to James Duke of York after the Restoration, and when he as James II. lost his throne it again became private property, being granted by William III. to Lord Somers.

Blechingley Castle completes the line of fortresses. Blechingley was one of the Domesday manors of Richard de

Tonbridge, and the castle, built at an unknown time, was the principal seat of the De Clares in Surrey. Nothing of it but earthworks and foundations now remains, but when Aubrey wrote, some two hundred years ago, there were remains of stone walls. There was a square Norman keep, apparently, within an enceinte of two ditches, a bank and a wall. The castle was injured in the thirteenth century. In 1264 Henry III. and his son Edward had marched from the Midland counties towards London, but, turning aside, crossed the Thames at Kingston, took a castle there, raised the siege of Rochester, which the barons were attacking and De Warenne was defending, and carried by storm the castle of the De Clares at Tonbridge. There they left a considerable garrison. Thence they went to the South Coast, and suffered shortly a complete defeat at Lewes. At the battle, however, the Londoners, who supported the barons, had been completely routed and driven off the field by Sir Edward the King's son. In spite of the victory of their party, their retreat seems to have been precipitate and continued, and they only rallied at Blechingley, upon the castle of their ally De Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and fell back thence to Croydon.

When by the Mise of Lewes the King made his submission to the barons, he ordered his garrison to evacuate Tonbridge, doing no damage to the other side. The garrison of Tonbridge, however, on their march westward, heard that the Londoners were at Croydon, and turning north, surprised them, slew many, and took much spoil.¹ They also on the same march damaged the castle at Blechingley. As they were upon their way to Bristol they would be following the Pilgrims' Way naturally, near Blechingley, before they made their excursion northwards to Croydon.

There was yet another castle of the De Clares at Kingston, which the King captured in this campaign, as related above. It does not seem to have been important enough to dominate

¹ Rishanger, Chron. sub. anno 1264. Cf. Nicholas Trivet's and Robert of Gloucester's accounts.

the passage of the bridge. Even in Aubrey's time there were no visible remains, and the site is lost. As the De Clares never owned Kingston,¹ it has been suspected that this castle was only a temporary fortification erected by Gilbert Earl of Gloucester in this campaign.

At Ockley, which was held by the De Clares from Domesday till 1314, there was a castle, and the remains can be seen in the copse across the field, north of the church. Nothing but the earthworks, a ditch and low mound are visible.

In 1278 Robert Aguillon had license to embattle his house at Addington. Castlehill still remains the name of the site of the castle, but it was apparently abandoned for a new house in 1400, and nothing of it remains.

At Thundersfield, in the parish of Horne, in the extreme south-east corner of Surrey, there was a castle of which only part of the moat remains.

In Lingfield parish there was a castle of another date and style. In 1342 Sir John Cobham obtained leave to embattle his house of Sterborough, and to erect it into a castle. In the light of events of the fifteenth century we cannot say that a castle was not still sometimes a useful protection to a private gentleman, but as a rule the "license to embattle" was rather a concession to dignity than necessity. To judge from a plan and rough drawing preserved by Manning and Bray, Sterborough was of a type of which no example exists in Surrey—that is, a concentric castle, as it is called, in which the keep of a Norman castle is not found, and the strength of the defences consisted in the encircling walls, flanked by semicircular towers, and usually strengthened either by outworks, or by an inner ward of the same construction. This castle was garrisoned for the Parliament at the outbreak of the Civil Wars, and dismantled in 1648, along with Reigate, and for the same reason—that it might

¹ Shene was granted to De Clare by charter October 2, 1264, and Shene was anciently part of Kingston; but this was after the Battle of Lewes. Ch. 48 Hen. III.

not serve as a rallying-point for the Royalists. The moat alone remains.

Betchworth Castle, near Dorking, was embattled by license in 1377, and again in 1449, in apparently the same style as the castle at Sterborough. It was dismantled in the reign of Queen Anne, being partly ruinous, and pulled down about 1798.





CHAPTER VIII.

THE FEUDAL TENURES.

TURNING from the fortresses of the early Middle Ages to the men who lived in and about them, we find much worth some attention, in the tenures by which the representatives of the tenants in Domesday held their estates.

The feudal tenures of Surrey are not without their share of interest in connexion with the general question of the organization of feudal England.

Domesday Book, a survey made first as a basis for taxation, and secondly to settle disputed ownership of land, is not necessarily concerned with the mention of castles, any more than with a record of the military services and sergeancies required from landholders. These are to be sought in the "Libri Feodorum," the Testa de Nevill, the Black Book, and the Red Book of the Exchequer.

The time-honoured fictions of the 60,000 knights' fees in England under the Conqueror, and even the more moderate estimate of 32,000, which was believed in by authorities who might have known better, have been relegated of late to their proper place among medieval exaggerations.¹ Neither does the military *servitium debitum*, or knight-service, correspond in any way to the number of five-hide or £20 units con-

¹ "Introduction of Knight Service into England," by J. H. Round, *English Historical Review*, 1891, 1892, and "Feudal England," by the same author.

tained in the fief. The Abbot of Chertsey, for instance, held land in Surrey which in Domesday is assessed at 112 hides less one virgate, of which just one quarter was held by tenants. It is certain that his lands were not smaller than this in extent in Henry II.'s reign, yet he then paid *donum* of £40 himself, and as a commutation for personal service on three knights' fees which he admitted as due, and on one more which he disputed, £4. His knight-service and his hidage show proportions far different from those commonly asserted to be the rule.

Owing to the incompleteness of the records it is impossible to recover the exact amount of knight-service due from the whole county of Surrey.¹ The following returns, however, were made at the various dates.

In the Pipe Roll of 2 Henry II. the Abbot of Chertsey appears assessed for three knights, the Prior of Merton for one-third of a knight. In 5 Henry II., 1158-59, the Sheriff of Surrey accounted for £4 as a commutation for the services of four knights due from the Abbot of Chertsey, 5 marks from the knights of the earldom (*comitatus*), and 15 shillings from the Canons of Merton. The note is added: "*Nota quod in hoc comitatu non inveniuntur alia dona vel scutagia aliqua.*"

As scutage for the Toulouse War, which seems to include all the perennial warfare of Henry II. and Richard with France, the Abbot owed the services of three knights, and two others those of half a knight apiece.

In the great Inquest of 1166, when the services due were revalued or assessed, the Abbot of Chertsey answered for three knights, one fee held by Walter de Cheneto (Chobham), one by Philip de Tanga, one by Roger de Watheville.²

¹ Records are both incomplete and confusing. Manors in Surrey are included under the heading of some other county, because they were reckoned as belonging to some "honour." If the chief seat of the tenant-in-chief, the *caput baronia*, were elsewhere, all pertaining to it might be recorded elsewhere also.

² William de Wateville is a tenant of the abbey in Domesday for land at Malden, Chipstead, Esher, and Tandridge Hundred.

Five small tenants held a fourth fee, Ace de Perifrith (Pirbright), Robert de Meldone (Malden), Maurice de Trotsworth, Stephen de Bendinges (? Beddington), Ralph de St. Albans.

At the same date the Honour of Clare included the following lands and services in Surrey: William de Dammartin, eleven knights and a half; Robert de Watteville, nine knights; Ingeram de Abernon (Stoke d'Abernon), four knights; William Fitz-John, three knights; Peter de Talleu (Talworth, held by Richard de Tonbridge in 1086), one knight and three-quarters. We have here, therefore, twenty-eight and three-quarters knights' fees from an honour which included at the time of the Domesday Survey land rated at about 102 hides, but which, under Edward, had been worth 328 hides.

In the Pipe Roll for the first year of John, *Nichil* is returned under Surrey. But in 1210-12, we find that among the tenants of the Archbishop of Canterbury owing knight-service were Robert de Wimbledon for three-quarters of a fee in Wimbledon; Master Benedictus Roffus de Scaccario, a clerk of the Exchequer, for a fourth part of a fee in Wimbledon; John de Burstowe, for half a fee in Wimbledon.

Then follow the knights' fees of the Honour of Dudley. On the land held of this honour in Surrey, Alan Bassett holds half a knight's fee in Woking; Urricus a third in Sutton; Stephen de Turnham a half in Erdintone (Artington, near Guildford); Ralph de Faye, three knights in Bramley; Peter de Mauluc, one knight in Paddington of the Honour of Dudley; Gilbert de Abinger, one knight of the same honour; Simon Fitz-Giles, one knight in Milton of the same honour; Alexander de Wickford, half a knight's fee of the same honour. These were all on the lands which had been granted by the Conqueror to William Fitz-Ansculf, lord of the Honour of Dudley.

Robert de Cattone (Gatton), one knight of the Honour of Peverel de Dover; Hugh de Neville, two knights and a half

in Oxted of the same honour; Ranulf de Oxted, two knights and a half of the same honour; Richard de Valle Badonis, one knight in Hathesham (Hatcham); Galfrid de Say, one knight in the same place of the same honour.

Hugh de Neville, two knights in Titsey of the Honour of Gloucester; Galfrid de Titsey, two knights in the same place and a quarter of a knight in Camberwell of the same honour; Nicholas Poyntz, three-quarters in the same place of the same honour; Martin de Dilwisse (Dulwich), half a knight in the same place of the same honour; Philip Utdeners, half a knight in Rutherey (Rotherhithe) of the same honour. Titsey and Camberwell at the time of Domesday were in the hands of Haimo the Sheriff; they had gone apparently to swell the great possessions of the De Clares, the descendants of Richard de Tonbridge. But the knights' fees held of the Honour of Clare do not appear in this return.

Robert Fitz-Reyner held land in Camberwell by the service of summoning knights.

Robert Huscarde was liable for one knight in Duntone of the Honour of Wallingford; William Haunsarde for one knight in Becheam and Tadworth of the Honour of Bremle.¹

There follows a note: "De His Quorum servitia ignorantur." The Earl de Warenne, at Reigate, Betchworth, Dorking and Westcott. The Earl de Clare (of Gloucester) at Blechingley.

These are the lay fiefs. But in addition the Bishop of Winchester owed five knights' services for Farnham, and the Abbot of Chertsey owed four.

The lands of De Warenne and of De Clare at Blechingley are great omissions, and it is impossible to supply the knight-service so left out. But those above given are liable among them for the services of twenty-eight knights and a half. Adding the twenty-eight and three-quarters knights' fees of the Honour of Clare in the Inquest of 1166, and giving the

¹ Duntone and Becheam are not existing names in Surrey.

same to the Earl de Warenne and others omitted, which is a mere assumption, and likely to err on the side of excess rather than not, we should come to a total of about eighty-six knights' fees in Surrey. A large number, no doubt, but nothing like what it should be to help to make up the 32,000, much less the 60,000 so confidently but so erroneously ascribed to all England.

Then follow, as also liable to unknown services, Eustace de Es for land at Gomshall; Peter de Mauluc at the same; Thomas Malesovers at Hedley; William de St. Michael in Ewell; Earl de Insula (that is Baldwin de Betun, Earl of the Isle of Wight) in Mitcham; Eustace de Es in Letherhead; Brian Lewer in the same place; Eustace de Courtney in Wallington; Earl de Insula in Lambeth and in Straton (? Streatham), which was Terra Normannorum—that is, land belonging to owners who had thrown in their lot with the French in Normandy; William de Leicester in Merewelle; Eustace de Es in Beddington; Roger de Munbray in Ham; Eustace de Es in Paddington. These were all smaller parcels of land.

In addition to the Terra Normannorum held by the Earl of the Isle of Wight, we find the following recorded under Henry III. as forfeited "Normans' Land" in Surrey.

The Earl Marshal holds the Manor of Witley, which aforetime belonged to Gilbert de Aquila. It is worth £30.

The same Earl holds the Manor of Westcott, which belonged to the same Gilbert de Aquila. It is worth £10.

John de Say holds the Manor of Bramley from the King for four knights' services. It is worth £24. De Say is an error for De Fay, as appears in the rolls of 1210, and this manor had escheated to the Crown for the second time, as far back as Henry II.'s reign, and had been granted by that King to Ralph de Fay. It is noticeable that it is charged with four knights' fees, but is only worth £24, or £6 a fee, not £20.

Matthew Besille holds half of the Manor of Gomshall, which did belong to Eustace de Es. It is worth £15. It was, however, only worth £13 to Eustace de Es in 1210.

The same Matthew holds rents of 10 shillings in Letherhead, which Master Urricus, *Ingeniator* (Engineer), held by the gift of the King. This may be the same Urricus who owed half a knight's service in Sutton in 1210. It appears in the Testa de Nevill that Richard I. granted 10 shillings in Letherhead to Eustace de Es, whom Urricus succeeded.

The Bishop of Chichester holds parcels of land worth £19 13s. 4d. a year in Ham, Wallington and Ewell, of the gift of the King, which formerly belonged to Almaric de Croim.

Though nominally "Norman," Almaric de Croim was in fact a knight of Anjou. We see in these grants some of the mischief recorded in the Domesday Survey being undone, and lands in England reverting to holders who, whatever they might be by blood, were as truly English as Bentincks and Portals are to-day.

There are also two cases of tenure by castle-ward in Surrey. Royal castles had to be defended; and as Plantagenet Kings had no standing armies, and as permanent garrisons could not be provided by ordinary feudal levies, tenure by castle-ward was invented. It was the obligation of taking a turn for a certain season in defence of a royal castle, or the finding of someone else to do it. In the time of Henry III., Galfrid de Bagshot had commuted his castle-ward service at Windsor for 25 shillings a year, payable at Michaelmas. It was service due for his Dairy Farm (Vaccaria), and he paid dues for similar lands in Hampshire. In 1261-62 three knights' services were due from Gatton, of the Honour of Peverel, for castle-ward at Dover, according, at any rate, to the return in the Red Book, headed "*Fœda Quæ Debentur ad Custodiam Castri Dovoræ.*" But in the return of the same year, headed "*Constabularii de Fœdo Super Wardam Dovoræ de Diversis Baroniiis,*" we read, "*Baronii Peverel, De Duobus fœdis in Gattone ter (per annum) lx. s.*" In this and in the accompanying instances 30 shillings per knight's fee seems to be the customary commutation. Is it possible that service was actually

performed for one fee, and the service of the other two commuted?

In 1301, Hamo de Gatton died seized of the said manor, held *in capite*, as of the Honour of Peverel, by the service of one knight's fee, 20 shillings every twenty weeks for castleward at Dover, and the services of a man and horse for forty days at that castle in time of war.

But besides military tenures, Surrey offers us examples of many curious instances of tenure by sergeanty. The needs of the King's Court were provided for by servants or contractors, paid by a grant of land, held on condition of performing some service. Personal service at the Court, which was so often at Westminster, Windsor, or Guildford, close to or in Surrey, was suitably paid for by land in the county. In a list in the Red Book headed "*de Serjantiis*," and compiled from materials dated 1212 to 1217, but certainly including earlier records, we find that Michael Benet held land in Scrernis (Sheen), in Surrey, by the service of acting as or providing a butler for the King. Peter, son of the Mayor of London, held half Addington by the service of cook. It is interesting to see how stable was the tenure of the King's cook. In Domesday, Tezelin, the cook, held Addington. The place of cook to the King was a good one; for then in demesne at Addington there were two ploughs, and there were eight villeins and nine cottars with two ploughs and a half. The land was worth 100 shillings. Perhaps the son of the Lord Mayor was supposed to have an ancestral understanding of good dinners; but the royal kitchen has sunk and the Mansion House has risen in dignity since the thirteenth century. Peter Fitz-Alwin, the son of the Lord Mayor, had married the daughter of Bartholomew de Chennay, who, we learn by the Testa de Nevill, held Addington by *Serjanciam Coquinæ*, of which we can say more anon.

Certain other sergeancies are not specified, but Samson de Molesey held half Moulsey on the terms of providing a cross-bowman; Galfrid de Pourtone by *Albergeto*, or the

duty of providing lodging for the King in his house for forty days in England—at a hunting lodge, probably, to judge from the entry of 1210-12. Reginald Aurifaber, the goldsmith, held in Newetone (Newington), by providing the King with one gallon of honey. There was here, perhaps, an hereditary trade, or name derived from trade, for in Domesday Teodoric Aurifaber held land in Kennington, probably the same as this, for Newington was not a manor nor an ancient name. Ralph Postel held in Combe, by collecting the wool of the Queen. In Bagshot we seem to find a sort of communal holding, for “Hoppescort and his companions” (*socii sui*) hold 30 shillings’ worth of land by sergeanty.

In 1210-12, in the Inquisition recorded in the Red Book, we again come across Surrey sergeancies, and may recognise some of the same holdings above mentioned, but sometimes differently described. For example, Galfrid de Pourtone holds in Mayforde by the tenure of acting as huntsman; Hoppescort, in Bagshot, his *socii* not being mentioned, held by the tenure called *veltraria*, that is providing a leash of hounds; Michael Belet, not Benet here, held by butler service in Sheen, and by that of *veltraria* in Bagshot; Ranulf Parmentarius held in Addington by the tenure *hastelria*; he had married the daughter of Peter Fitz-Alwin mentioned above. *Hastelria* is the place where *hasta*, or the fat of young sows, was kept or provided. This mysterious tenure is further elucidated by a subsequent lawsuit, and a more definitely recorded tenure.

In 1236 we have on record a successfully defended lawsuit by a Surrey man concerning this service. William Agulun, who had married the co-heiress of Bartholomew de Chennay, was called upon, as we should say now, to show cause why he should not be assessed for the service of half a knight, because the said Bartholomew had been, it was said, assessed in the Toulouse scutage, 1159, at two marks. The twelve sworn knights, however, declared that Bartholomew had never been liable to military service, but he, his

predecessors and successors had held their land by sergeanty, being bound to provide one cook in the kitchen of our lord the King on the day of the coronation, the cook to be at the disposal of the seneschal, to do what he ordered. Roger, the Bishop of London, who heard the suit, contemptuously ordered the roll of Henry II. which recorded the knight-service to be cast into the Fleet as a convicted liar, to the scandal of the compiler of the Red Book, Swereford. But the twelve jurors were not perhaps as exact as they should have been, for Robert Agulun, the son of William, did not hold land at Addington by the general service of a cook, who was to be at the seneschal's disposal. *Per servitium coquinarium* was no doubt technically comprehensive, but the tenant specially performed the service of making one mess in an earthen pot in the kitchen of our Lord the King, on the day of his coronation, called *diligroust*, and if there be sow's fat in the mess it is called *maupigyrnum*. Mess is the proper name, for the dish consisted of almonds, milk, brawn of capons, sugar, spice, boiled chicken, and the fat from a sow's kidneys, the *hasta* of *hastelria*. This elaborate cookery tenure at Addington was for the same manor which was held by the son of the Lord Mayor and by Ranulf Parmentarius. As late as the coronations of Charles II. and James II. the service was performed, and the mess made and perhaps eaten.

Samson de Moulsey held as in the other list, by providing a cross-bow, *i.e.*, a cross-bowman; Radulf Postel by collecting the wool of the Queen, or paying 20 shillings. Stephen de Turnham held land in Coteshulle in Shiere, by the service called *mapparia*, more properly *napperia*, or the charge of the King's linen, no doubt for the Court at Guildford, and four pounds' worth of lands in Guildford by the service of *marescalcia*, or providing fodder for the King's stables at the same place. He looked after bed and board, for man and beast, when the King kept his Court in Surrey. Galfrid de Pourtone, Hoppescort and Michael Belet, at Mayforde in Woking, and at Bagshot, fitly ministered to

the King's sport, for their holdings were in the afforested part of Surrey, west of the Wey.

Turn where we will among recorded tenures, we find no evidence that the whole country was mapped out in fiefs to be held by knight-service, but that, under the King, tenures were multiform and various in the extreme, that knight-service was only one kind among many, and that the knight-service where due bore no direct proportion to the size or value of the holding—not, at least, in the time of which we have exact record, whatever the original theory may have been. As a matter of course, so expensive a service could not be expected from poor men or very small land-holders. But it was due from some comparatively poor men, and more of it from some rich men than from others. The further inference is irresistible, that it was a service deliberately introduced by Norman Kings, or perhaps in some instances by their predecessors, but certainly not a development of the general obligation of defending the country which lay upon all freemen, who were bound to find arms according to their means. This general obligation remained, reiterated and enforced by law under Henry II., as a separate kind of duty.

Looking to the other revenues or supplies drawn from the county, we find that the farm of the royal manors in Surrey in the first year of Henry II. amounted, it is said, to £174 7s. in silver. This was made up as follows: Guildford £21, Kingston £28 10s., Godalming £35, Gomshall £30, Southwark £14, Woking £10, Wallington £10, Letherhead 100 shillings, from four men at Wetham, perhaps Mitcham, which had been land of the Bishop of Bayeux and had been forfeited to the Crown, 20 shillings, Ham 20 shillings, Merrow 21 shillings. But the sum of the farm of these manors amounts to £156 11s., so there is some omission or unexplained discrepancy.¹

¹ Guildford and Kingston paid *blancis*, the rest *in numero*. That is, the two former in money worth the actual amount in silver, the rest in coins of the nominal value.

There was no hidage or local assessment paid through the Sheriff of so much per hide.¹ But the various dues, amercements, and so on of nine hundreds came to the King through the Sheriff's hands. The half-hundred of Effingham must have been reckoned as one with Copthorne, as was sometimes the case, reducing the hundreds to thirteen. Of the four not in the Sheriff's hands, Emley-bridge was in the hands of Radulf de Immerworth, Farnham in those of the Bishop of Winchester, Godalming in those of the Bishop of Salisbury, Godley in those of the Abbot of Chertsey. In the rest, the hundred-penny and the fees on view of frank-pledge came to the Sheriff.

A curious fact about the royal taxation of Surrey has been pointed out by Professor Maitland.² The old assessment of the county for Danegeld, still levied occasionally in the twelfth century, was £180—a large sum, higher than that paid by Kent, for instance, which only paid £106. But when Henry II. levied *dona*, or occasional taxes, Surrey twice paid 160 half-marks only, whereas Kent, which got off so lightly for Danegeld, paid 320 and 240 half-marks on the two occasions.

¹ The old Danegeld, the tax of two shillings per hide of land, not necessarily on actual areas, but on reputed or assessed hides, disappears after 1163.

² "Domesday Book and Beyond," p. 474.





CHAPTER IX.

THE EARLDOM OF SURREY.

AT the head of the military organization of the shire stood the Earl. Before the Danish dynasty the Ealdorman was the great man of a county; after the Norman Conquest, the Comes. But from the eleventh century the ordinary English title was Earl. Of the exact status and powers of the early English Ealdorman, who preceded the Earl, it is impossible to speak certainly. There was not an Ealdorman to every shire, but where there was he was a large, or the largest, land-holder, and the head of the local military force. His actual powers would likely enough vary inversely with his nearness to the Over-King, and the Ealdormen, or Earls, in Bernicia would exercise something more like royal power than an Ealdorman of the South Saxons or of Surrey. The name of only one Surrey Ealdorman is preserved, Huda, who fell fighting the Danes in Thanet in 853. When the Danish title Earl had superseded Ealdorman, Surrey formed part of the great West Saxon earldom of Godwine and his sons. Already, by the time of Edward the Confessor, the name of the Count, the Comes of the Empire, had begun to be used to express the Danish or English Earl; already the subsequent due of the Comes, the third penny, or one-third of the King's dues from the shire, had become the lawful endowment of the Earl.

The Conqueror, himself only Duke of the Normans, and not far removed by descent from Earl Rolf of Rouen, was chary of creating earldoms in England. William Rufus and Henry I. were a little more free in their creations, and first Stephen and then Matilda proceeded to create earldoms lavishly, and to endow them from the Exchequer, in order to gain the support of the great land-holders in the Civil War.

An earldom may be considered in those days as an office more than a rank, implying a military headship in a county, the right of sitting with the Sheriff in the County Court, sometimes the normal possession of the post of Sheriff, as in the case of the Earls of Salisbury, Sheriffs of Wiltshire for a hundred years about, the third penny from the shire, sometimes other dues, generally the possession of large estates in the shire, but not always. The Earl of Chester was a petty King, the Earl of Shropshire in Domesday holds nearly all the county; but some of Stephen's Earls had hardly any possessions in the counties from which they took their titles. The ascription of a given number of knights' fees to an earldom seems to be a later fancy. It is worthy of note, however, that the *comitatus*, in ordinary language, meant the holding of an Earl even beyond his county. The Earldom of Gloucester, for instance, included estates in Surrey. An Earl succeeded to the estates of his father, but was not Earl till invested by the King with a sword in token of his earldom. In one case Ralph de Monthermer, second husband of Joan of Acre, was only Earl of Gloucester till his stepson came of age, when he retired from what was clearly an office, in the young Earl's favour.

William de Warenne was created Earl of Surrey by William Rufus in 1089. He had not been endowed by the Conqueror with any lands in Surrey, but he received grants from William Rufus of Reigate, and probably Dorking. He was not so great a land-holder in Surrey as Richard de Tonbridge and his son Gilbert, but was more to be depended upon by the Red King as his supporter against the party of feudal independence, who looked to the gallant,

careless Robert as their nominal head, and with whom the De Clares, the descendants of Richard de Tonbridge, acted for a time.

In accordance with the hereditary character of English politics, of the two greatest houses in Surrey the De Warennes seem to have been generally supporters of the Crown, the De Clares of the baronial or, as it became later, the constitutional party. Only in 1265 they acted cordially together for the overthrow of De Montfort.

William de Warenne the first was Lord of Warenne in Normandy. He was connected with the ducal house, had fought at Hastings, and in 1074 had been made with Richard de Tonbridge joint Justiciar of England in William's absence. In this capacity he had had a foremost part in putting down the rebellion of the Earls Ralph and Roger in 1075. He had become closely allied to the King by his marriage, before 1070, with Gundrada, whom men have called the daughter of William himself. But the paper of Mr. Stapleton, in the *Archæological Journal* in 1846, argued for the view which was fully accepted and borne out by Mr. Freeman,¹ that Gundrada was a daughter of Matilda, William's wife, born before her marriage with the Duke, to one Gerbod, with whom her marriage or connexion was set aside or dissolved by his death. The language of Earl William, in his grant to the priory at Lewes, implies that his wife was daughter to Matilda but not to the King. The words of the charter are the following:² "Pro salute animæ meæ et animæ Gundradæ uxoris meæ et pro anima domini mei Willelmi Regis, qui me in Anglicam terram adduxit, et per cujus licentiam monachos venire feci, et qui meam priorem donationem confirmavit, et pro salute dominæ meæ Matildæ Reginæ, matris uxoris meæ, et pro salute domini mei Willelmi Regis filii sui, post cujus adventum in

¹ "Norman Conquest," vol. iii., Note O.

² The charter is a fifteenth-century copy. There is another copy among the Cluni documents to the same effect, and another Lewes document speaks of Matilda as mother of Henry I. and of Gundrada.

Anglicam terram hanc cartam feci, et qui me comitem Surreia fecit."

The distinction is clearly expressed by the Earl between the King, his lord, and the Queen, his lady and the mother of his wife. It would not be in accordance with ordinary human nature not to refer to the King as his father-in-law if he could do so. In the earlier charter granted to Lewes by King William himself, nearly illegible as it is, the words by the King, "*filia meæ*," applied to Gundrada, are said to be a clear insertion by a later hand, and, even if they were original, are not decisively against her being William's stepdaughter. Much doubt hangs over the names and order of William's daughters, but none of the historians include a Gundrada among them. Moreover, Gundrada had a brother Gerbod, who became Earl of Chester, but who was no son of William's. Whether they were exactly legitimate children of Matilda does not quite certainly appear. Mr. Freeman, when he wrote the "*Norman Conquest*," believed that Gerbod, the father of Gerbod and Gundrada, was dead when Matilda married William. Mr. Stapleton thought that a divorce or separation had to be arranged between Gerbod and Matilda before the marriage with William could be made. The daughters of the Conqueror are an obscure subject, but it is quite certain that only Adela, the youngest, the wife of Stephen of Chatres, the mother of King Stephen, left descendants. Gundrada, whoever her father was, was older than Adela (who was married in 1080), and was married by 1070. It is only a negative argument, it is true, but if she had been a daughter of the Conqueror it would have been strange that there should have been no question of the rights of her son, William de Warenne the second, to the crown, in place of Stephen, the third son of his mother's younger sister.¹

¹ Mr. Freeman changed his opinion in consequence of two letters of Mr. Waters' in the *Academy*, December 28, 1878, and May 24, 1879, and in the *English Historical Review* for October, 1888, inclined to the view that Gundrada was not even Matilda's daughter. But the evidence of the Lewes and Cluni documents (Cluni was the parent house of Lewes) is

William de Warenne did not live long to enjoy his dignity of Earl of Surrey. His benefactions to Lewes did not outweigh in the eyes of some Churchmen alleged injuries of his to the Church of Ely. On the night of his decease the Abbot of Ely, lying in bed and meditating upon heavenly things, distinctly heard the voice of the Earl cry twice, "Lord, have mercy upon me!" as he was being carried through the air by the devil. How the Abbot was so positive as to the means of the Earl's conveyance does not appear. He died in the year of his investiture as Earl, and was succeeded by his son, William de Warenne the second, Earl of Surrey and Warenne, Lord of Lewes, Reigate, Coningsburgh and other English and Norman lordships. He was born before 1071. Unlike his father, he threw in his lot for a time with Duke Robert of Normandy, and joined Robert de Belesme against Henry I. in the rebellion in favour of the Duke. On the enterprise breaking down he fled to Normandy, and was deprived of his English earldom in October, 1101. Soon after he made his peace with the King, and was restored in 1102. He commanded a division of the King's army at Tenchbrai, in 1106, when England conquered Normandy, and again at Brenneville, against the French, in 1119. Subsequently he governed Rouen and the district of Caux for King Henry. He married Isabella, daughter of Hugh, Count of Vermandois, and widow of the Earl of Leicester.¹ He died in 1138.

strongly in favour of her being Matilda's daughter. If these are fifteenth-century copies, we are still left with no explanation for the reason of so curious a statement being an invention. Any plausible forger would have made her William's daughter, too, while he was about invention. As for there being no other mention of Matilda's first marriage, we may remember that the Norman writers disliked William's marriage, and tell us as little as they can about it; the date, even, is only approximately known. They entirely suppress a marriage of William's father Robert, and of his great-aunt Emma, and call the latter *virgo* when she was a widow with children. The passage from Anselm's letters quoted by Mr. Waters is difficult; it is irreconcilable with any genealogy that we know. The curious should refer to the article in the *English Historical Review*.

¹ The arms of De Warenne, chequers of or and azure, were adopted from the Vermandois coat after this marriage. That they came from Walter de St. Martin, grandfather of the first Earl of Surrey, is alleged, but is unlikely, as hereditary arms were scarcely in use so early.

His son, William de Warenne the third, was born after 1118. He joined Stephen's party in the Civil War, and was a witness to Stephen's charter in 1136. In 1137, however, he was accused of intriguing with the party of the Empress in Normandy. Nevertheless, in 1141 he was a commander in Stephen's army in the disastrous Battle of Lincoln, when Stephen was taken prisoner. De Warenne was on the right wing, which was scattered by the first charge of the troops of Robert of Gloucester. He then, like many others, joined what appeared to be the winning side of the Empress, but was taken prisoner along with the Earl of Gloucester, when Matilda retreated from Winchester in the same year, and again made his peace with Stephen. He seems to have been a bad specimen of the evil class of great nobles, who by their frequent changes of side made the anarchy of the time unceasing. The great crusade, prepared in 1146, relieved England and Normandy of his presence, as of many others of the same kind. He joined Louis VII. in 1147, and in the disaster which befell the French Crusaders after they left Laodiceæ in 1148, he was either killed or taken prisoner by the Turks, and disappears from history. He had married Ela, daughter of William, called Talvas, Count of Ponthieu, and grand-daughter of Robert of Belesme, and left an only daughter Isabel.

✓ Isabel de Warenne married William de Blois, second and eldest surviving son of King Stephen. He was born about 1134. They were married before 1153, and William was invested with the Earldom of Surrey *iure uxoris*.¹ In accordance with the treaty between his father and Henry of Anjou, he succeeded to all that his father held in England when he became King—the Castle of Norwich and the Honour of Pevensey. In Surrey, in addition to the old De Warenne lands, he held Godalming, which had been granted to him by his father. He also succeeded *iure matris*

¹ Again it may be pointed out that contemporaries give no hint that this marriage united two lines of descent from the Conqueror, as would have been the case had Gundrada been William's daughter.

as Count of Boulogne. But these possessions were too extensive to be left safely in the hands of a subject who was son of a King, and in 1157 he resigned all his castles in England, and the Manor of Godalming, into the King's hands, and was confirmed in the possession of the rest of his father's and in his mother's inheritance. He was knighted in 1158, and accompanied Henry on the expedition to Toulouse, and died, perhaps fortunately for the peace of the kingdom, in 1159. His widow, the heiress of De Warenne, was married again in 1164 to Hamelin, half-brother to the King, natural son of Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, who became Earl of Surrey on the marriage. He justified his choice by remaining faithful to Henry II. during the troubles of the latter part of the reign. He remained in England and Normandy during the Crusade of Richard I., and died in 1202. He was evidently an unambitious and moderate man. He left one son, William de Warenne, who, besides bearing the territorial title of his mother's house, may have reverted to their arms, the chequers azure and or. They were at least borne by this William de Warenne's son, while Earl Hamelin seems to have borne as his arms one of the personal badges of the House of Anjou, an escarbuncle, a device which was adopted as a crest by his great-grandson.¹ This William de Warenne the fourth, born before 1181, and dying 1240, played a somewhat equivocal part, like his grandfather, in the disturbed politics of the time. He adhered steadily for a long while to the side of John in his quarrels with the clergy and barons. He lost his Norman estates when the French overran Normandy, and took up the position of a purely English Earl. His name appears among the witnesses to John's oath and

¹ The hereditary law of arms, and the whole science of heraldry, were so far still in their early stages. Earl Hamelin has the escarbuncle, something like a star with eight radii, on his shield in a picture in Cott. MSS., Julius, c., vii. John de Warenne bears the chequers on his seal. John the second has the escarbuncle on a helmet as a crest on his seal. Any man could adopt a crest or badge. Arms were hereditary by the thirteenth century.

submission to the Papal Legate at Dover. De Warenne was then on what appeared to be the winning side.

John's submission, disgraceful and ultimately calamitous to the Church and nation, was nevertheless for the moment a clever political device. He at once transferred the greatest power in Europe from the side of his enemies to his own. Under the protection of Innocent III. he could defy the French King, he believed, and his great effort and combinations were only frustrated by the unexpected victory of the French at Bouvines over John's troops, under the Earl of Salisbury, and over his allies, his nephew the Emperor Otto, and the Counts of Flanders and Boulogne. The defeat gave the barons in England the chance of successfully pressing their demands, which were embodied in the Great Charter. Still De Warenne remained on the King's side. There is a tradition that the barons met together in the vaults of his castle at Reigate to consider their plans, but the attitude of the lord of the castle renders it improbable, and the line of the recorded march of the baronial army brought them nowhere near Reigate. De Warenne was one of the envoys named by the King to treat with the barons, and the result of the negotiation was the greatest event which ever took place on the soil of Surrey, the signing of the Great Charter.

That the Charter was presented to and signed by the King on the soil of Surrey is nearly certain. Runimede is a meadow by the Thames, below Windsor, in the parish of Egham in Surrey. In the river lies an eyot, called Magna Charta Island, where it is usually said that the Charter was actually signed. The island is in the parish of Wraysbury in Buckinghamshire. But the Charter itself bears witness that it was given "*in prato quod vocatur Runingmede.*" The name Runimede, the Mead of Council, may mark some ancient meeting-place, the memory of which was not extinct at the time, and led to the choice of the place. We may conjecture how it is that the island has been taken to have been the place of signature. The treaty by which the

French Prince Louis agreed to evacuate England in 1217 was signed in an island in the Thames near Staines, according to Matthew Paris, and this island may have been that now known as Magna Charta Island, and a confusion may have arisen between the two events.

John, of course, broke the Charter at once, and as soon as he could raise mercenaries began to ravage the lands of the barons, who sent for the French Prince Louis, husband to the grand-daughter of Henry II., and offered him the crown. Louis, landing in Kent, marched on Winchester, making himself master of the Surrey castles of Reigate, Guildford, and Farnham on the way. Blechingley was already held by his supporters. Now we find William de Warenne leaving the side of King John. Several others, including the King's half-brother, the Earl of Salisbury, did the same, but it is hard to excuse them. John's attitude was no more mischievous, his action no more outrageous, than in the few months immediately before, when they still adhered to him. Men of far higher characters for patriotism and wisdom, the Earl Marshal, the Earl of Chester, Hubert de Burgh, and the Archbishop, still held by John, who had perhaps more English support than he himself could dare to count upon. But the side of Louis seemed the winning side, and men like De Warenne, whose great Norman estates were already lost, might be anxious not to throw away their English estates too, by espousing the losing cause. De Warenne had been compensated by John for the loss of his Norman estates by lands in Sussex, and at Stamford and at Grantham, and these at least might be in peril if he found himself at last on the wrong side.

But the death of John in the autumn of 1216 changed the face of affairs. An English reaction against the foreigner took place. De Warenne made a truce for himself, like a Sovereign Prince, in April, 1217, and then shortly came over to the Earl Marshal and the cause of the young King Henry III. on May 5, before the decisive battle at Lincoln broke up the French baronial party. When he had once

made his peace with the English King, he became the practical ruler of the South-east, for, besides his earldom, he was Warden of the Cinque Ports, 1216, and Sheriff of Surrey from 1217 to 1226. He died about 1240, leaving by his second wife, Maud, daughter to the Earl of Pembroke, and widow of the Earl of Norfolk, one son, John, born about 1235.

Of John de Warenne much might be said, but in connexion with the general history of England rather than with that of Surrey. For about fifty years he was a prominent actor in a time of varied and stirring interests. Restless, overbearing and ambitious, he has preserved more of a personal character for us than any other of the De Warennes. He was one of the group of Earls who were about contemporary with Edward I. He was about four years older than Edward. Left an orphan at the age of five, he was brought up with the King's sons in Guildford Castle, and at twelve years old was married *pro formâ* to the King's half-sister, Alice de Lusignan, daughter of Hugh de la Marche and of the Queen-Dowager, Isabella d'Angoulême. Thus, beyond the connexion by his birth and family politics, he was united closely in marriage with the party of the foreigners, the King's relations and favourites, who were so peculiarly obnoxious to the English baronage as a rule. He saw his first important service in Gascony in the King's army in 1254, and with Edward in 1260-61. When the Civil War was coming to a head in England he was made Guardian of the Peace in Surrey and Sussex. The Provisions of Oxford, intended to provide a complicated Ministerial machinery to stand between the King and the country, had broken down in practice, and had been annulled by the award of the arbitrator called in by both sides, Louis IX. of France. Both sides were preparing for the war, which had been informally commenced already. The barons, headed by De Montfort and De Clare, had their headquarters in London, whence they had detached forces to the siege of Rochester. Henry, his brother Richard, and his son

Edward, with De Valence, Bruce, Baliol, and other supporters, had threatened London, and then, as related above, had crossed the Thames at Kingston, marched through Surrey, raised the siege of Rochester, and stormed Tonbridge Castle. De Warenne, who had been defending Rochester, was continued in his appointment of Governor of the castle, but, nevertheless, accompanied the King on his march to the Earl's own castle of Lewes, whence by their possession of Pevensey and Seaford they could communicate with their friends abroad. De Montfort and De Clare followed them, marching past De Clare's Castle of Blechingley by the Roman road through Godstone and the Weald, the only road not dominated by a royalist castle. The Battle of Lewes followed. De Warenne was among those who fled too early from the scene, while Edward was still in a position to resist in Lewes Castle. But the Earl and the others who escaped knew themselves to be peculiarly obnoxious to the victors, and were anxious to reach Pevensey, whence they could secure a safe retreat abroad. As the song of Lewes says :

"Sire Simond de Mountfort hath swore bi hys chyn,
Hevede he now here the Erl of Waryn,
Shulde he never more come to is yn,
Ne with sheld, ne with spere, ne with other gyn,
To help of Wyndesore."

He is coupled with the King of Almaine and Sir Hugh le Bigot as a special object of detestation to the popular party.

De Warenne, however, escaped abroad, and returning with his brother-in-law De Valence, the Earl of Pembroke, in 1265, claimed the restoration of his forfeited estates which, with the exception of Reigate and Lewes Castles, had been granted to De Clare. This was refused ; but the baronial government was breaking up. The De Montforts were accused of seeking their family advantage, and the retention of castles like Reigate and Lewes in their own hands showed their distrust of their allies—a distrust no doubt well founded. The young Earl of Gloucester had declared against De Montfort, and De Warenne gave his

support to Edward and Gloucester in the brief campaign which was decided by the death of De Montfort at Evesham. He subsequently fought at the Battle of Chesterfield in 1266, when the Earl of Derby and the remains of the baronial party were overthrown by him and by Henry of Almaine.

De Warenne was naturally looked upon as one of the chief supporters of Edward I., but as naturally shared the jealousy felt by all great feudal nobles of too decided an assertion of royal power. In 1278 Edward issued the famous Quo Warranto writs, inquiring by what title men held their lands and franchises. The answer of De Warenne has become famous. As Hemingford records, the Earl produced an old rusty sword, and said, "Here is my warrant. My ancestors came with William the Bastard and conquered their lands with the sword: with the sword will I defend them against anyone who wishes to usurp them. For the King did not conquer and subdue the land by himself, but our forefathers were with him as partners and helpers." Brave words, but coming with doubtful truth from a representative of the old De Warennes of the Conquest in the female line only, who owed his earldom and most of his lands to grants subsequent to the death of the Conqueror, and half of his importance to intermarriages with the King's relatives. Neither did the Earl see fit to carry his defiance of Edward too far. The King was not a person to be trifled with, even by a De Warenne. In the "*Placita de quo Warranto*," 7 Edward I.,¹ it appears that the Earl made by his attorney a much less dramatic answer before the Justices in Eyre, claiming the castle, honour and town of Reigate, Betchworth, and Dorking, and rights in Southwark and Guildford, as held by his ancestors "a tempore a quo non exstat memoria." It is interesting to note that, among many, now some of them obsolete, privileges, he claims the right of holding a market in Dorking every

¹ *Placita*, etc., coram John de Reygate et sociis suis Justiciariis itinerantibus, etc., 7 Edw. I. Exemplification Pat. R., 25 Eliz., July 9, Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel.

Thursday, and a fair in Reigate on Holy Cross Day, September 14, which both still go on. We might expect an unreasonable explosion of anger from him, for the Earl was a man of violent temper. He had before this, in 1268, in the reign of Henry III., fallen into a private feud with Alan de la Zouche, whom, with his son, he assaulted and wounded in Westminster Hall itself, so that Alan de la Zouche some time afterwards died from the injuries received at the hands of the Earl or his followers. He had then carried his defiance of order to the brink of civil war, being hardly persuaded by the Earl of Gloucester and Henry of Almaine, the King's nephew, not to defend Reigate Castle against the royal forces. He had made a grudging submission, and was dismissed with a fine, partly remitted later, which bore more proportion to his services and position than to his offence.

Edward thought fit to employ so turbulent a subject in war, far away from his Southern earldom, though he was a great man in Yorkshire, too, by his possession of Conisborough and Wakefield. He fought against the Welsh, and he was given command in the North, and in 1296 defeated John Baliol, King of Scots, his grand-daughter's husband, at Dunbar. He was then appointed Guardian and Lieutenant of Scotland, but suffered a severe defeat from Wallace at Stirling in 1297—a defeat attributable to his own rash contempt for his enemy, and followed by an unnecessarily precipitate retreat to Berwick. He accompanied the King in his later Scotch campaigns, and died an old man, as times went, in 1305. The "Roll of Caerlaverock" speaks of him, when employed before that castle in Scotland, in 1300,

"As one who well knew how to lead
Noble and honourable men."¹

But his military and political career leave the impression of

¹ "Com cil ky bien savoit mener
Gent segnourie e honnourée
De or e de asur eschequeré
Fu sa baniere noblement."

"Roll of Caerlaverock," 151-154.

turbulence and pride, very moderate military abilities, and no others. He bore, of course, the chequers or and azure.

The Earl's only son, William, had been killed in a tournament at Croydon, in 1285, leaving by his wife, Joan de Vere, three daughters, Alice, Eleanor, and Isabel, married to the Earl of Arundel, Sir Henry Percy, and John Baliol respectively, and a posthumous son, John, who succeeded his grandfather as John de Warenne the second, Earl of Surrey and Warenne. He was styled also Earl of Sussex, and created in 1334 Earl of Strathearn in Scotland by his kinsman, Edward Baliol, after marrying the heiress of Malise, Earl of Strathearn. The young Earl of Surrey was knighted at the same time as the future Edward II., and served in the Scotch wars and in France. He was not present at Bannockburn, but fought at Halidon Hill. The De Clares and the De Warennes were, in fact, now exchanging their ancestral sides. The young Earl of Gloucester, son of Joan of Acre, was while he lived a strong support to his uncle, Edward II., while De Warenne aided Thomas of Lancaster and his party to capture and destroy Piers Gaveston, the King's favourite, supported the Ordinances which put power into the hands of a clique of great barons, and with Lancaster refused to go to Bannockburn. When Lancaster, however, finally fell before the King, De Warenne sat as one of his judges. He was one of the Commissioners named in Parliament to renounce homage to Edward II. in 1327, continued to be employed by the Government of Edward III., and died 1347. He left no children who were acknowledged as legitimate. He married Joan, daughter of the Count of Bar, but obtained a divorce from her on the ground of a pre-contract on his part with Maud de Nerford. He then married the daughter of the Earl of Strathearn, by whom he had no children. The line of the De Warenne Earls expired with him, but he left, through his connexion with Maud de Nerford, children whose legitimacy became a fruitful subject of controversy for genealogists. We may be sure that these Earls of Surrey played a great part in the

life of the county in their time. Such a feudal lord was a greater man than the distant King in the eyes of his neighbours. Around him were grouped his chaplains, his stewards, his accountants, lawyers, chamberlain, treasurer, carvers, servers, cupbearers, grooms, yeomen, and other servants innumerable. Squires and pages, from baronial and gentle households, attended his court, as a school of learning and manners. The management of his estates, the holding of his manorial courts, were the political life of a State in miniature. Half a county was more or less dependent upon or connected with him in business. His household was more on the scale of a great college of the Universities of these days than of any private house. When the King was at war, the military muster of the county was made under his command. According to the practice which grew up in the fourteenth century, he contracted with the King to supply him with soldiers, and warlike distinction was to be sought under his banner. It was in his local affairs that he gained the experience which fitted him for a place in the royal councils. A county without a resident Earl lacked half the picturesqueness and much of the vigour of its corporate life. A central Government without the experience and local influence of the great Earls was sure to be a failure.

The earldom of Surrey ceased for a while at the death of John the second, but his sister's son, Richard Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel,¹ perhaps succeeded as Earl of Surrey on his mother's death about 1353, and was certainly styled Earl of Surrey in 1370. The first of the Fitz-Alan Earls of Surrey died in 1376. His son, Richard Fitz-Alan the second, succeeded him. The Fitz-Alans seem as a rule to have been superior to the De Warennes in ability and character. This Earl was born in 1346, and was a distinguished commander in the disastrous days of Edward III.'s later French war, and in Richard II.'s reign. In 1387 he won a great naval victory over a Flemish fleet near Sluys, and subsequently

¹ The name Fitz-Alan is retained as customary, but the family was really styled de Arundel.

commanded on the coast of the Bay of Biscay, with such success as to restore the English power at sea to something like an equality with that of her neighbours—a position which had been lost by the defeat of the Earl of Pembroke at the hands of the Biscayans off La Rochelle in 1372. He was one of the Lords Appellant who destroyed the favourites of Richard II. in 1388. His victory had raised the Earl to a great place in popular favour, and the indignation of the people was the greater when Richard II., striking for absolute power in 1397, had him tried and beheaded for high treason.¹ Immediately after the death of the Earl, Richard II. created his own nephew, Thomas Holland, Duke of Surrey,² but the revolution of 1399 deprived him of his title, and Thomas Fitz-Alan, son of the late Earl, was restored to all his father's dignities. He was a man of influence and ability, and was employed continually by the Government of Henry IV. and Henry V., till he died in the campaign of Agincourt, October 13, 1415, before the great battle. By his wife Beatrice, an illegitimate daughter of Joam I., King of Portugal, he left no children, and his possessions as Earl of Surrey and Warenne went to his three surviving sisters, Elizabeth, Joan and Margaret. He was succeeded as Earl of Arundel by a cousin, but the title of Earl of Surrey remained dormant till, in 1451, John Mowbray, son of the Duke of Norfolk and great-grandson of Elizabeth Fitz-Alan, was created Earl of Surrey. He succeeded as Duke of Norfolk in 1461, and died in 1476. Like the rest of the Fitz-Alan and Mowbray connexions, he was a strenuous supporter of the Yorkist cause. His only daughter was married to Richard, son of Edward IV., both being children, and died without heirs. The Earldom of Surrey was in abeyance from the death of John Mowbray

¹ King Richard II. had a personal affray with the Earl. The latter had kept the funeral procession of Anne of Bohemia waiting, and the King, with that strange petulance and want of dignity which betrays a scarcely balanced mind, had struck him in the face so as to draw blood within Westminster Abbey itself.

² Thomas Holland's mother was sister to the late Earl.

till Richard III.'s accession, when John Howard was created Duke of Norfolk by Richard III., June 28, 1483, and his son Thomas was created Earl of Surrey. John Howard was grandson of Elizabeth Fitz-Alan, sister of the last Fitz-Alan Earl of Surrey, and united the inheritance of the Mowbrays and the Howards, the latter being till then comparatively obscure. More remotely he was descended from the Bigods, Earls of Norfolk.

The history of the Howards, Dukes of Norfolk and Earls of Surrey, is part of the history of England for the next hundred years, not of the county of Surrey. The time had passed when great territorial influence in the county whence an Earl drew his title enabled him to pose as a supporter or opposer of Kings. The possessions of the Howards were great in the Eastern counties and elsewhere, but it was rather their position as heads of the old nobility, representatives of the Bigods and the Mowbrays, hereditary Earls Marshal, and finally representatives of one branch of the Royal Family, which made them so great. The marriage of Thomas Howard the second, the third Howard Duke of Norfolk, first with the Lady Anne, daughter of Edward IV., and secondly with the Lady Elizabeth Stafford, daughter of Edward, Duke of Buckingham, who was descended from Edward III. in two lines, gave to the House of Norfolk that position which raised the jealousy, if not the fears, of the Tudors.

Yet the title Earl of Surrey is so well known in connexion with two of the ducal house, that they at least may claim some notice in a survey of the affairs of the county. Thomas Howard, created Earl of Surrey in 1483, had already fought on the Yorkist side at Barnet and at Tewkesbury. He stood by his King at Bosworth, where his father, the Duke of Norfolk, fell, and he was taken prisoner. He was subsequently attainted. After a short imprisonment and retirement, he was restored as Earl of Surrey in 1489, and loyally served the new dynasty in peace and war. His contemporary, Polydore Vergil, speaks of him as a man endowed

with the greatest wisdom, gravity and steadfastness. He was Treasurer of England from 1501 to 1522. But his greatest fame rests upon the victory of Flodden Field in 1513. After this great service he was created Duke of Norfolk, resigning the Earldom of Surrey in favour of his son, who was created Earl of Surrey February 1, 1514. It is curious that the greatest military services of Earls whose titles came from Surrey, in the South, should have been in the North against the Scots, at Dunbar and Flodden. The Earl died aged nearly eighty, in 1524, before the dark days of Henry VIII.'s reign came, a link between the England of the Wars of the Roses and the new England of the strong monarchy. His son Thomas the second, Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Surrey, doubly allied by marriage with royal blood, the Minister, friend, favourite, and victim of the King, only escaped death by the predecease of his master. The story of his less fortunate son, Henry Howard, styled by courtesy the Earl of Surrey, has been told too often to need repeating. His place in the history of English poetry must always be a high one. If he cannot claim the place of a poet of high class himself, he showed the way to others. Soldier, man of fashion, and poet, chosen companion of the King's son who was married to his sister, his high birth, brilliant qualities, and the spirit naturally fostered by them, made him the victim of Henry's policy.

The accusations against him were some of them frivolous, some quite probably true, though not treasonable—some so monstrous that if, as Mr. Froude thinks, they were true, they are damning to the character of the King, whom Surrey knew well, and whom he is supposed to have hoped to persuade into monstrous wickedness. It is possible to impugn the character of the Earl, but if the accusations against him were all true it is impossible to spare the character of the King. The story is too abominable for needless repetition. We may safely leave both the Earl and the King in the hands of the panegyrist of the latter. The son of Surrey, succeeding as Duke of Norfolk and Earl

of Surrey in 1554, continued the misfortunes of his house. In Camden's words, "Summa nobilitate, summa naturæ bonitate, conspicua membrorum compositione et vultu virili . . . patriæ firmamento pariter et ornamento fuisset." But his promise was marred by the marriage with the heiress of the Fitz-Alans, which brought yet another ancient earldom, Arundel, to his house, and the more ambitious projected marriage with the Queen of Scots, which was planned for him by those who wished to settle the uncertainties of the succession by uniting the heiress by blood to an English husband, the head of the old nobility, and of royal descent himself. The ultimate brilliant success of the procrastinating policy of Elizabeth tends perhaps to make us too hard as a rule upon those who saw the extreme dangers of anarchy or foreign invasion to which the country was exposed by her refusal to marry or name any successor. This Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Surrey died on the scaffold in 1572, his son, the Earl of Arundel, *iure matris*, in prison. His grandson was restored as Earl of Surrey in 1603, and created Duke of Norfolk in 1644. His fame is perpetuated by the Arundel Marbles which he collected abroad. His public services were not brilliant, and with him begins a new era of less eminence and more safety for his house, whose religion, a natural result of the position of their fathers towards the Tudors,¹ cut them off till recently from active participation in the politics of their country. The title Earl of Surrey remains. Its holders still enjoy property in Surrey, the original title to which was covered by the formula of John de Warenne, that they had held it "a tempore de quo non exstat memoria"—that is, really, from the reign of William Rufus. Except the Bishop of Winchester, the Dukes of Norfolk represent the most ancient land-holders of Surrey. The yeoman families who claim to have held their land from before the Conquest can scarcely be taken seriously.

¹ Thomas Howard the third, Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Surrey, beheaded in 1572, was not a Romanist.

There was one barony by tenure in Surrey. In 18 Henry III. William Aguillon attended Parliament as Baron by tenure of Addington in Surrey. The barony became extinct on the death of his son Robert in 1286, but was revived for Hugh, Lord Bardolf, who had married Isabella, the heiress of Robert Aguillon. It became finally extinct on the attainder of his descendant, Thomas, Lord Bardolf, for complicity in the rebellion of the Earl of Northumberland, the Archbishop of York, and others against Henry IV. in 1405.





CHAPTER X.

THE FOREST.

THE extent of the royal Forest of Windsor was one standing cause of quarrel between the Crown and the baronage and people alike in Surrey. The extraordinary tenacity with which successive Kings clung to their forest rights is not to be explained simply by their love of the chase. The Conqueror "loved the tall deer as if he were their father," and the same taste is apparently natural among most men of vigour and of leisure, though not always carried to quite the same extent. But the forests were enlarged beyond what any possible personal enjoyment of the King could explain. In fact, the forests were the seat of special royal power. When baronial franchises, on the one hand, with the growth of national and popular liberties, on the other, threatened the power and revenues of the Crown, the King was still master in his forests as he was not elsewhere. Great barons who were free of shire and hundred courts, clergy who could appeal in other cases to their Ordinary, were compelled to appear before the forest courts. The names and functions of these were as follows. The Wood-mote met once in forty days, and the Verderers there made presentments before a jury of inhabitants, for forests were partly inhabited and cultivated. Presentments reaffirmed were carried to the Swain Moot, which met thrice a year, and over all was the Justice Seat

of the itinerant Forest Justices. All the fines, the tolls and rents, went to the King. In the forest, too, were large reserves of land for grants to royal favourites, large opportunities for exaction of money in return for remitting obligations or punishments incurred under the Forest Law. The Stewards, Foresters, Wood Reeves, and what not, were a ready support to a King who had neither police nor regular army to depend upon. Hence the desire of Kings to extend and preserve the bounds of the forests. Surrey was the scene of a most extensive royal encroachment of this kind. Henry II., beginning by afforesting his own demesne at Guildford, Woking, and elsewhere, finally afforested the whole of the county, according to the statement left on record by a Perambulation of the Bounds of the Forest made in 1226.¹ He thus made the whole county of Surrey an appendage to the Forest of Windsor. The encroachment and injustice—for, in the words of the "*Dialogus de Scaccario*," "*quod per legem ejus factum fuerit, non justum per se sed justum secundum legem forestæ dicatur*"—were so strongly resented that Richard I. in his first year agreed to disafforest three-fourths of the county, from the Wey eastward, and from Guildford Down—that is, from the line of the chalk hills—southward. The 200 marks contributed for this favour by the knights of Surrey may chiefly explain the King's concession—a concession not actually made when promised, for it was not till the ninth year of King John that the payment of an additional 300 marks, making 500 marks in all, procured the confirmation of Richard's disafforesting charter.²

Still the whole country west of the Wey and north of the Hog's Back was left as forest, and was called the Bailiwick of Surrey. It was attached to Windsor Forest under its Bailiff, and free from the jurisdiction of the Sheriff. It included the parishes and townships of Chobham, Bisley,

¹ Close Rolls, 9 Henry III.

² "*Nota quod hoc anno (sc. 1207-08) in Surreia, finem (fecit) de D. m., pro deafforestatione tota Surreia.*"—"Red Book of the Exchequer" (Hall edit.), vol. ii., p. 748. This is worth quoting, for it escaped Manning and Bray.

Horshill, Byfleet, Pirford, Wanborough, Pirbright, Ash, Windlesham, Tongham, Worplesden, Woking and Stoke. Only Chertsey, Egham and Thorp, the estates of the Abbey of Chertsey, were free from the Bailiff's jurisdiction.

In the demands of the barons who obtained the Great Charter, we find included that all the new afforestation made by King John and his predecessors should be disafforested. This was agreed to, and should have included the disafforesting of the part of Surrey left forest by Richard I. But such was not the result at once; the Charter of the Forests, as it was called, was not carried out, and it was not till 1226 that Henry III., in return for a subsidy, agreed to disafforest all newly-made forests, except on his own demesne. This practically disafforested West Surrey, for all the royal demesne there had been alienated except the park at Guildford. A perambulation was accordingly made, and the limits of the Forest of Windsor were fixed by the limits of the counties of Berkshire and Surrey, so that the forest was not to be in Surrey at all. It is to this perambulation that we perhaps owe the first accurate delimitation of the north-west border of the county. Only the Abbey of Chertsey granted to the King that part of their lands should be included in the royal forest so far as to save for the King his right of hunting over them. The Crown was not prepared, however, to abandon its claims. In 1280 Edward I. attempted to reassert the claim to consider the western part of the county as forest. He named Commissioners, who met before the Chief Justice of the Forest, and upon the oath of twelve sworn men of the county resolved that Henry II. died seised of the whole county as forest, that Richard I. only disafforested a certain part of it, and that there was no evidence that Henry II. had afforested any part of it, but that it was all ancient forest before his time. This was in opposition to the view taken fifty-four years earlier, and was clearly meant to establish that the whole county was forest from time out of mind, and that therefore the statute for disafforesting newly-afforested lands could not apply to any

part of it. No perambulation was made, however, in consequence of this inquiry, which was afterwards represented in 1327 as an unauthorized attempt on the part of Hugh Despencer to extend the limits of the forest for the King without the privity of the county. This was hardly true, for twelve sworn men of the county were present, nor in 1280 was Despencer yet Chief Justice of the Forests south of Trent, as he afterwards became in 1294. We may remember that in 1327 the Despenchers had just been disgraced and executed.

In the Parliament of Lincoln, 1301, the barons insisted upon the question of the forests and their limits being settled. But no perambulation of the forest of Surrey was made till 1327. Then a commission was issued, and a jury impanelled, who finally decided that the county lay outside the forest, despite the transactions of 1280. After considerable delay, a charter was procured from the King fixing the limits of the forest so as to exclude the county altogether. Yet the old Bailiwick of Surrey remained in the purlieus of the forest. That is, the King had a right and property in it over deer straying from the forest, against every man but the owner of the land where they were found. And in every purlieu of a forest the King had a Ranger, whose business it was to drive back the deer straying there into the forest. In the times of Elizabeth and James I. complaints and disputes concerning the taking of deer in the Surrey Bailiwick were of frequent occurrence.

Yet before dismissing the afforesting of Surrey, we must add one more attempt, out of due time, certainly, to reverse the proceedings of 1226 and 1328. When the Government of Charles I. was driven to try every device to raise money for the needs of the administration, without the aid of Parliament and the direct general taxation which only Parliament could grant, an inquiry into the limits of the forests and into encroachments upon them was set on foot. In 1632 the Earl of Holland, Chief Justice in Eyre of the Forests South of the Trent, held a Justice Seat at Bagshot. Here Noy, the Attorney-General, claimed the whole Bailiwick of

Surrey—that is, all the county west of the Wey—as part of the Forest of Windsor, and several of the “oldest inhabitants,” who were probably as stupid as the oldest inhabitant usually is, and still more probably were amenable to persuasion, swore that it always had been considered part of the forest so long as they remembered. The distinction between the forest and the purlieus of the forest was likely enough not to be clear to them. This victory for the Crown brought in some money and much unpopularity, and in 1641 the Act of the Long Parliament for ascertaining the limits of all the forests in England led to the overthrow of the decision. At Guildford in January, 1642, on the very verge of the Civil War’s beginning, an inquest was held, at which it was decided that the posts and rails of the park at Guildford were the bounds of the only part of the Forest of Windsor within the limits of the county of Surrey in the twentieth year of James I., and that the grant by King Charles of the said park to the Earl of Annandale in 1630 had distinctly disafforested the only part of the bailiwick which had not been disafforested long before.

But though the inclusion of land in the King’s forest was a fertile source of oppression and exaction, the extreme severity of the Forest Law was in practice probably mitigated by the interest of the Crown. Though killing a stag might be a capital offence, and though even under Edward I. a formal inquest was held on the body of a stag, as if it were that of a man, yet it was more profitable to take money than to take life or limb from offenders. The chases and warrens of the baronage—no one but the King owned a forest—were guarded by a law much more resembling the modern game laws than the forest law of popular imagination. When John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, was Lord of the Manor of Dorking, the Court Rolls often record the charge against some man “quod domini comitis parcum fregit,” and the penalty is usually a fine of sixpence, equivalent to two or three days’ wages of unskilled labour, say from 5s. to 7s. 6d. by the modern standard.¹

¹ Court Rolls of the Manor of Dorking, *passim*.



CHAPTER XI.

TOWN LIFE—GUILDFORD AND SOUTHWARK.

OF the town life of Surrey in the Early and Middle Ages, there is little to be said. The county was, with the exception of a little distance along the banks of the Thames, emphatically as rural as it had been under the Romans. There were no towns of a size to be considerable, even when the biggest towns in England apart from London contained only a few thousand souls. At Guildford, as we saw, there may have been 700 people in 1086, in Southwark 600. There was no civil life to speak of in these places, no great trade or industry. Guildford was a royal borough, under the immediate influence and patronage of the Crown. It is considered a corporation by prescription. If it obtained its name from a guild of merchants or traders, such must have existed in the days of King Alfred, when it is first named.¹ According to Blackstone, "if the King grants to a set of men to have a Gild Merchant, this is alone sufficient to incorporate and establish them for ever." But the first charter on record to Guildford was given by Henry III. on September 7, 1257, to the *probi homines* of Guildford, an expression which is taken to mean that they were already a corporate body. This was confirmed by 7 Edward I. By Letters Patent 40 Edward III., the fee-farm of the town was granted to the *probi homines*, with all the

¹ But a ford existed before a guild, of necessity. It was more likely a ford where a toll was paid.

profits and emoluments thereof, saving only the emoluments appertaining to the castle, gaol and park, for a payment of £10 a year at Easter and Michaelmas.¹ This would considerably enhance the importance of the Corporation. But the Mayor and burgesses of a medieval town never really controlled the whole taxation and government of the territory within or round about their walls, if they had them. Such places as the priory at Guildford, and the castle and its precincts, would be independent of the town still. The geographical limits, as we may call them, of the borough were interrupted by stretches of foreign territory. As we shall see, this was still more marked in Southwark.

We catch a glimpse of the effects of the rising of the villeins in 1381 on Guildford. The labourers of the town, and the country people about, cared little for the privileges of the guild merchant and of the *probi homines* who composed it. The castle was no doubt safe in the custody of the deputy of Sir Simon Burleigh, the Constable. This Sir Simon Burleigh was a trusted servant of the Black Prince, who fell with other friends of the King under the violence of the Lords Appellant in 1388. But evidently the town, outside the castle, was in the hands of the mob. For in 1383 the *probi homines* informed the King that they had lost their charters in the late troubles, and they were renewed to them, at the moderate fee of 22s. 4d., an exemplification of the same being granted. Guildford to this day does not possess copies of the charters before this time.

But a mere recital of charters gives, after all, but little information about the real life of old England. We gain a more lively idea of our forefathers from the passing notices of trifling customs. The people of Guildford amused them-

¹ The Earl of Surrey had successfully claimed the third part of the tolls and customs of Guildford in 1277, and John, Earl de Warenne and Surrey, died seised of these in 1347. The King only granted his own portion to the town. They had formerly been the marriage portion of Margaret of France, second wife to Edward I., and had since been held by the De Brocas family in fee-farm from the Crown.

selves after the manner of the times, and, as times grew harder or more serious, found it necessary to insist upon everyone taking his part in public entertainments, lest they should languish if only pursued by voluntary effort for amusement. In 6 Henry VIII. at the leet-day, on Monday after the Feast of St. Hilary, persons were elected to manage the baiting of the bull on the Monday after St. Martin next ensuing, under a penalty of 20 shillings each if they refused to act. This solemn preparation for a popular barbarity, which necessitated the election of persons in January to bait a bull in the next November, is remarkable. The anticipated possible reluctance to act may be explained on the ground of expense solely. No one saw any harm in bull-baiting, and there was no personal risk unless the bull got loose.¹ Not the persons, but the dogs of the people elected, would be exposed to danger.

A more harmless amusement is partly revealed by the regulations of the elections, 27 Henry VIII., of Summer-Kings, Princes and Sword-bearers. They were annually chosen for some popular mummary, and those who objected to play the fool for the amusement of the town had to forfeit to their parish churches 5s. if Kings, 2s. 6d. if Princes, 1s. 8d. if Sword-bearers. Our present amusements may seem to future generations as barbarous or as foolish as these, but we, at least outside public schools, do not punish people for refusing to take their places in the eleven or the fifteen. But active co-operation in more serious business was insisted on too. In 30 Henry VIII. (1538), when Henry VIII. was apprehensive of a rising of the old nobility and anti-Reformation party supported by the Emperor, the Court-Leet of Guildford nominated sixty townsmen, who were to provide harness, bills and bows, for twenty-two bill-men and archers, some serving personally, others contributing to the equipment of a neighbour. Parkhurst, Atfield,

¹ If the bull were loose the sport was called bull-running. John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, is said to have invented bull-running as a pastime, after seeing a bull loose in the streets of Stamford, with the town dogs after it.—Watson, "Memoirs of Earls of Warren and Surrey."

Davey, Martin, Sanders, Dudley, Dabarne, West and their fellows appear on the roll, precisely as they might appear now in a Surrey muster-roll. The names are all common still.

The advantages, privileges and pleasures of Guildford, as of all medieval towns, existed for the inhabitants only, and no one could become an inhabitant at pleasure, in this sense. The socialistic Middle Ages, like all Socialists, found themselves obliged to limit their population. "Foreigners"—that is, unqualified townsmen—were prohibited from trading except in garden produce. On the town records in 20 Henry VIII. appears: "No foreign occupier, of what craft or occupation soever they shall be, shall occupy unto this market by fine or otherwise, from this day forward. Vegetables only excepted." In 24 Henry VIII. we find: "No artificer to work in the town, except paying scot and lot or by fine." Yet the foreigners would come; they always did. Foreign butchers were objected against under Elizabeth. In James II.'s reign the court-leet imposed a tax, payable every quarter, at the rate of sixpence for a magistrate, fourpence for a bailiff or ex-bailiff, three-pence for a constable or ex-constable, and a penny for every freeman, to provide funds for the prosecution of foreigners. This is alleged to have been successful for a long time in excluding foreigners as tradesmen or artificers, and in promoting thereby the insignificance of the town. The "foreigner" is still strongly objected to in parts of Surrey. Coming from "somewhere in the shires" is enough to stigmatize him as a person of doubtful character. The writer has heard of a case, in the middle of this century, where a workman of this kind was only known as "foreigner," with no other surname at all.

The Middle Ages were socialistic even in their amusements. The fancy of the next age was that people should be compulsorily stopped from amusing themselves. In Edward VI.'s reign the magistrates of Guildford observed with pain that attendance at church during the sermon had

fallen off—"which thing cannot but be by reason of coman ale-house keepers, which detayne mens servants and other pore men in the tyme of such redinge, to the greate sclander of the towne." To cure this every parish was to appoint a beadle, who was to visit ale-houses, and if he found any "pore people or mens servants" eating, drinking, or sitting idly there in the time of service, the ale-house-keeper was to be fined sixpence—twopence to the informer and fourpence to the poor-box of the parish. The offending parties were also to be presented to the Mayor. If a man neither "pore" nor "a servant" was discovered, it appears that Dogberry was to let him alone. Yet the ale-houses were frequented enough to make them a means of advertisement of the business of the town. The making of woollen cloth had prospered in Guildford, the chalk hills of the neighbourhood fed sheep in abundance, and under Elizabeth all ale-house-keepers were compelled to buy for 2s. a sign with a wool-sack painted upon it, to hang at their doors, on the pain of forfeiting 6s. 8d. Yet even that age did not want irreverent critics of meddlesome authorities, for we find it ordered that if any man openly jest or taunt at what is done by good and lawful men, sworn for maintenance of good rule, he shall suffer two days' imprisonment, or pay not less than 3s. 4d. for each offence. The ordinance betrays an uneasy sense in the authorities that they were sometimes ridiculous.

Once again somewhat later, in 1605, we find the authorities opposing themselves to public amusement. On July 19 the Earl of Nottingham, the Lord Lieutenant, wrote to his Deputy Lieutenants in Surrey, concerning the complaint of the Mayor of Guildford, that certain persons, "Thomas Smalpece and his associates," "persons of themselves very disordered," were going about to set up a Maypole—a Summerpole they call it—in spite of the "Maire and his Bretheren." The Earl seems subsequently to have felt that he had been induced to interfere on false pretences. There is an undated letter in the Loseley manuscripts, declaring how

"Mr. Smalpece" had been to see him, and had explained that his and his friends' action was quite orderly, and that there had been before a Maypole with the King's arms, and other arms, upon it, which the Mayor had thrown down. "Which, if it be trewe, it was a very lewde parte." The Earl would not have approved of a pole with the picture of any saint upon it—were such still, then, to be found in England?—but one with the King's and noblemen's and gentlemen's arms upon it seemed to him "loveable." Perhaps he meant "laudable." Early in this century a Maypole still stood in Albury village near Guildford, but with neither the picture of a saint nor the royal arms upon it, only a weathercock on the top.

The woollen trade has long departed from Guildford. It often did perish in old corporate towns, from over-protection, perhaps; but easy and cheap communication with the Thames by the river Wey, the earliest canalized river in England, kept the place in a flourishing condition as an agricultural centre, whence corn, malt, beer and timber were conveyed to London.

But it was not merely Protection which threw Guildford back solely upon the resources of her position as the market of an agricultural district. There, and in some of the neighbouring villages, cloth used to be made for export. Womersley, for instance, sent blue cloth to the Canary Islands.¹ But the dishonesty of the makers, who stretched the web of 18 yards to 22 or 23 yards, lost them their market.

Like other towns, Guildford had been induced to surrender its privileges to James II. in 1686, and was reincorporated, with royal influence well guarded by the power of removing the town officers. But in 1688, when the coming of the Prince of Orange was imminent, the ancient constitution had been restored to the town. It was reformed, along with all the rest, by the Municipal Corporations Reform Act of 1835.

¹ Aubrey's "Surrey."

Though Guildford was the county town, Southwark, and the suburbs which grew up round the monastery at Bermondsey, and round the palace of the Archbishop at Lambeth, constituted the chief centre of town population in Surrey. But their life and history are in fact those of London.

There may have been a fortification, with population in and around it, at the southern end of London Bridge as soon as at the northern. The placing of London in Kent by Ptolemy has led to the supposition that the whole city was originally south of the river. This is extremely unlikely from the nature of the ground. The ascription of London to Kent is only a proof of the earlier existence of the same state of things that prevailed later, when Ethelred of Kent was lord in London, and established a Bishop's seat in St. Paul's. The name Southwark, the South Fort, implies that our earliest English ancestors found a Roman work there, or raised works of their own. The Roman remains near the foot of the bridge, with a circle of interments lying outside them, point to an early reclamation of land here from the tide; and the land was probably higher, or not so low, close to the end of the wooden bridge, than in most parts of the Surrey marshes. Be that as it may, the embankment of the river, perhaps by the Romans, left dry land, over which their roads were carried, and on which houses were built, where Southwark, Lambeth, Bermondsey, Rotherhithe, Newington, Walworth and Kennington now are.

The process by which London is absorbing Surrey, continuing the old Mercian supremacy of the northern over the southern side of the Thames, and turning Surrey into an extensive suburb, began in a marked manner by the subjection of Southwark to the City. It is safe to say that Surrey might have had one great city of its own if there had not been a greater in Middlesex. But the north side of the Thames was more suitable, both for defence and trade. Consequently, London became great, and Southwark became her dependent. There was a profitable ferry here

at the time of the Domesday Survey, though the bridge existed, and tolls were taken from the ships moored along Bankside. The "Stoney Street," which does not lead directly to London Bridge, probably points to this ferry, and may be on the site of a Roman road made before the bridge was built. But twenty years before the Domesday Survey some houses in Southwark had been burnt by the Norman army on their march from Hastings, and the diminished cultivation, between 1066 and 1086, of the adjoining Manor of Lambeth points not only, perhaps, to Norman ravage still to be traced there, but to injuries to the embankments, and an incursion of the river. But under the Norman Kings the "Surrey side" rapidly grew important. The neighbourhood was fairly populous from its vicinity to the river and London, and would grow more so after the Archbishops were established at Lambeth, and the religious houses of St. Mary Overie and Bermondsey were founded. Other great ecclesiastics lived there when attending Parliament or Convocation. The Bishops of Winchester and Rochester, the Abbot of Battle, the Prior of Lewes, all had their houses in Southwark.

As Southwark grew it became more and more an object of solicitude to the neighbouring City authorities. It was complained that offenders escaped from London into Southwark, and continued there. Consequently, in the first year of Edward III. he granted the vill of Southwark to the citizens of London, they paying into the Exchequer yearly the rents and farms due to the Crown. But there seems still, in spite of this grant, to have been a continual conflict of authority. This is not to be wondered at when we consider the extraordinarily complicated areas of jurisdiction south of the Thames.

There were four manors in Southwark besides liberties, such as the Clink Liberty, which belonged to the See of Winchester, and was originally part of the Paris Garden Manor. The manors were the Guildable Manor, the Great Liberty Manor, and the King's Manor, more or less locally

intermixed, and the smaller Manor of the Maze in St. Thomas's and St. Olave's parishes. The first only was granted to the City by Edward III. The second belonged to the Cluniac monks of Bermondsey. The Paris Garden Manor close by, at one time a royal manor, made another area of conflicting jurisdiction. The whole neighbourhood was also broken up by ecclesiastical precincts, enjoying the right of sanctuary.

In 1406 Henry IV. gave to the City the right of appointing a clerk of the markets in Southwark, and the power of arresting criminals and carrying them to Newgate. It would appear, therefore, that the previous grant of Edward III. had not fully taken effect. The inhabitants petitioned against this subjection, and the Sheriff of Surrey also complained later of an invasion of his jurisdiction. But Edward IV. in 1463 and 1468 confirmed and extended the rights of London, granting the assize of bread, wine, beer and all other victuals, and the fines, forfeitures and amercements arising therefrom, and at the latter date commanded the Sheriff of Surrey to observe the liberties and jurisdictions granted to the Mayor and citizens. Finally, in 1551, the City acquired by a new charter full confirmation of all previous rights, and the complete possession of the Great Liberty Manor, which had belonged to the now dissolved Monastery of Bermondsey, and of the King's Manor of Southwark, including a number of houses which had belonged to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and the site of the dissolved Monastery of Bermondsey. For this they gave on the spot £647 2s. 1d., agreeing to continue the ancient rent of £10, and to pay down 500 marks additional for the Hospital of St. Thomas. The price seemed heavy, but the investment was undoubtedly profitable to the City. The property remains as the Bridge House Estate, an important part of the estates of the Corporation. Southwark was now erected into a ward, as Bridge Ward Without, but the Alderman was not chosen by the ward, nor were they represented in the Court of

Common Council. The Senior Alderman of London held the place on translation from his own original ward. The subjection of the Surrey suburbs to London was marked thereby.

But the peculiar life of Southwark and Bankside begins after the partial incorporation with London; and the consideration of it leads us on to a much later period, when the southern suburbs became famous as the home of the drama, and infamous as an abode of disorder, in both respects for the same reason, the only partial jurisdiction of the City.

The tradition which made Southwark a resort for the looser characters of London seems to have continued after the City had asserted this jurisdiction. The divided authority for so long a time, while the King still exercised manorial rights, and the Sheriff of Surrey interfered as far as he could with the City jurisdiction, the rights and liberties of the monastic houses, and of the Bishop of Winchester, who owned the Clink Liberty, all contributed to keep up a certain lawlessness south of the river. The Clink extended from Winchester Street and the Thames-side back to Gravel Lane and Suffolk Street, and was under an entirely independent jurisdiction. On its eastern limit was the Mint, so named from a mint established by Henry VIII. there. There were, we may remember, no bridges over which uninterrupted streams of traffic could flow continuously as now. One horseman at a time could pass the gate of London Bridge. The ordinary communication was by boat, and a riverside population is generally more or less turbulent and irregular. There was no river police, nor, indeed, any land police worthy of the name. The very prisons, the King's Bench and the Marshalsea, helped to make the place worse, for there was continual intercourse between the unlucky rogues inside and the luckier rogues outside them. The King's Bench Prison, at the corner of Blackmore Street, was considered the most desirable prison for debtors, and others, of any in England. There was a coffee-house within the walls, and a small outlay purchased

the right of walking "the liberties," where ruffians of all descriptions congregated in supposed, and indeed in practical, sanctuary. The theory of privileges for debtors in the Clink and Mint was zealously defended by violence, which made arrests dangerous, and continued to provide real immunity.

The "Surrey side" continued to be a refuge for the destitute in both cash and character till 1723, when, after several desperate affrays in the district, the immunities of the Mint were finally abolished by Act of Parliament, enacting specially severe penalties upon all who withstood the course of justice in reliance upon such pretended privileges. In one respect, indeed, disorder had been scandalously licensed down to the reign of Henry VIII. There were licensed houses of ill fame there, on the land of the Bishop of Winchester, on Bankside, and the "galled goose of Winchester," whom we hear of in the epilogue to the play of "Henry VIII.," shows that the memory of this public scandal remained at least until 1613.

But it is as one of the great theatrical suburbs of London that Southwark and the neighbourhood had a life of their own. The theatres were there, and the actors and their friends used to live south of the river. One of the few certain facts about the life of Shakespeare is that he was a householder in Surrey. He owned a house called the Boar's Head in the Borough High Street, immediately opposite the east end of St. Mary Overie. Edmund Shakespeare, who had come up to London as a player to follow the fortunes of his famous brother, died in 1607 in the parish, and was buried in what was then called St. Saviour's Church. He died, perhaps, at his brother's house. Fletcher the dramatist lived in Southwark, died there of the plague, and was buried in the churchyard of the same parish. Also the burial of "Philip Massinger, a stranger," is recorded in the registers. Poor Massinger was a Romanist as well as a stranger, but his friends of the stage living in this parish secured him burial with the only lawful Christian service.

The taste of the present age has rightly recognised and commemorated the divine gifts of these great men in the Church of St. Mary Overie, where another poet of another age, the "Moral Gower," had his monument before them. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would have been surprised and scandalized at the portraits of play-writers in church windows. The theatrical suburb and its theatres were not then in good repute.

As far back as 1580 a theatre had been erected at Newington Butts, outside the meddlesome jurisdiction of the certainly puritanical City. In this neighbourhood, too, were the two bear-pits, at first surrounded by temporary scaffoldings, but afterwards erected as permanent buildings, under the names of the Rose, in 1585, and the Paris Garden in 1588. Both were available for drama as well as for the popular sports of bear and bull baitings. Edward Alleyne the player, founder of Dulwich College, was part owner of the Rose when it was a bear-pit, in conjunction with his father-in-law, Philip Henslowe. In 1585 the Hope Theatre was also built on Bankside. In 1595 the Swan was opened in Southwark. Finally, in 1599 the Globe was opened on Bankside, the theatre in which Shakespeare had a share.¹ A great many Shakespearian plays from "Henry V." onward to "Henry VIII."—from 1599, that is, to 1613—must have been first acted in Surrey. Several of these theatres were used like the Rose and the Paris Garden for a double purpose, perhaps all but the Globe. A Dutch traveller in England, Von Buchell,² has left a description of the Swan, exaggerating its size and magnificence a good deal, for he says that it could hold 3,000 spectators, which is certainly an invention. The theatre, he says, was of stone, the fittings of wood, but the legs supporting the stage "are painted so like marble that you cannot tell the difference." He adds that the stage is removable in order that the whole

¹ The dates are those of Mr. Fleay (*Transactions Royal Historical Society*, 1888).

² Von Buchell's description is preserved in the Library of the University of Utrecht. The writer has not seen the original.

area may be made available for bear-baiting—"a most delightful spectacle." Indeed, this sport seems to have been more truly popular in Southwark than the legitimate drama, though that was increasingly attractive. During the time of vigorous growth of the drama after the defeat of the Armada, we see that theatres were multiplied with a rapidity that shows that the popular taste had overborne the objections of the magistrates, who held, no doubt with truth, that the theatres were centres of disorder. But it was because of these objections that the theatres were all built outside the limits of the City proper, whether to the north or south of the Thames. The Globe and Rose at least, if not all the playhouses and bear-gardens on the southern side, were within the liberties of the Clink or of the Paris Garden, where they were under a special jurisdiction, and free from the interference of the Corporation. Round the playhouses every sort of disorder gathered. Ben Jonson tells us how the place "was as dirty as Smith-field, and as stinking every whit." The noisy apprentices and women—for respectable women rarely attended public theatres—who crowded the yard or pit, quarrelled and gnawed apples, and picked up the half-eaten fragments to throw to the bears in the pits. We can easily see cause for the disapproval of the graver citizens, who at last induced the Government to interfere. In 1601 most of the playhouses were shut up by order of the Privy Council, and the Globe remained as the only theatre proper in Surrey. This is the "recent inhibition" referred to in "Hamlet," which had sent the players strolling.

But if stage plays, acted on Sunday sometimes, were objectionable to the authorities, they did not venture nor care to prohibit bear-baiting, nor prize-fights with sword and buckler.¹ "As You Like It" might be immoral, but

¹ The bear-pit was frequented on Sundays. Prynne ("Histriomastix," p. 557) describes an accident there, by the breaking down of a scaffold, on Sunday, January 13, 1583, with evident gusto. The Lord Mayor also wrote about the same accident to Burleigh, "that it gave great reason to

these encouraged national hardihood, so that they still were allowed to flourish unchecked. The Paris Garden, their most notable scene, was exactly upon the modern approaches to Blackfriars Bridge. The site of the Globe is covered by part of Messrs. Barclay and Perkins' brewery. The Globe was burnt in 1613. The performance of "Henry VIII." was fatal to it; the saluting guns in the masque at the Cardinal's house shot their smouldering wadding through the opening for light in the centre of the house, over the yard, and set fire to the thatched roof. It was rebuilt and continued in use until the Civil Wars. It was pulled down in 1644.

The Parliamentary Government and the Protector shut up all public theatres and bear-gardens by degrees, though the more tolerant Protector allowed Davenant to present plays in a private house. At last, in 1655, Colonel Thomas Pride, High Sheriff of Surrey, one of Cromwell's House of Lords of a few years later, the son of a drayman, and the instrument of the Purging of the Parliament in 1648, had the surviving seven bears "shot to death by a company of soldiers." A more extended experience of deliberative assemblies might have shown some fitness in the coercion of a House of Commons and the putting down of bear-gardens by the same man.¹ This summary suppression of bear-baiting was not prompted by the feelings of humanity which now condemn such shows. The party in power objected to bear-baiting, not because it hurt the dogs and bears, but because it amused the spectators. The reopening of the theatres after the Restoration did not specially affect the southern side. They were now lawful anywhere, and were more conveniently placed on the north side of the Thames, towards what was then the West End.

acknowledge the hand of God for breach of the Lord's day." But the entertainments went on in spite of the judgment.

¹ The Clarke Papers, vol. iii., p. 64, published by the Royal Historical Society, 1899, say that Major-General Barkstead shot the bears. Surrey was in his district as Major-General.

The growth of the prosperity and population of Southwark later is a part of the story of London. As in London, a great fire, great in proportion to the size of the place, in 1676 cleared away many of the old houses in Southwark, but the rebuilding made little improvement. The southern suburbs were gradually overgrown by streets and houses as mean and unsanitary as any to be found in London. Bermondsey, which was once looked upon as a health resort, but where two Queens—Katharine, the widow of Henry V., and Elizabeth, widow of Edward IV.—died, might certainly prove fatal now to any visitors uninured to river fogs, damp ground, and abominable smells.





CHAPTER XII.

THE BOROUGH, AND PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY.

THE records of the only distinctive life of Southwark, as first an ecclesiastical, then a theatrical, and throughout a disorderly suburb of London, have led us far from the history of the earlier life of Surrey. But there was, as we have seen, no real town life elsewhere. Kingston was incorporated by a charter of King John, dated April 26, 1200, in the first year of his reign, which began on Ascension Day, May 27, 1199, and ended on Ascension Day, May 17, 1200. The years of John's reign were reckoned from one Ascension Day to another.¹ John gave another charter to the town in 1208.

Kingston always had a certain importance as being on the river and commanding a bridge, the nearest bridge above London till the last century, when Putney, Kew and Richmond Bridges were built. It was, too, a royal manor, and was evidently the object of the special favour of the Crown. Henry III. gave Kingston three charters, and every English Sovereign from Edward III. to Charles II. inclusive, except Edward V. and Richard III., gave or confirmed charters to Kingston. The town was put upon the

¹ This charter is misdated by Manning and Bray in 1199. It was given at Porchester. On April 26, 1199, though Richard had been dead for twenty days, John was not yet King. He was, moreover, in Normandy, not at Porchester. He only landed in England on May 25, two days before his coronation and the beginning of his reign.

same level as Guildford, "to have and to hold a Guild-Merchant in the Vill." Charles I. extended the jurisdiction of the court-leet and the view of frank-pledge all over the hundreds of Kingston and of Emleybridge, excepting in the royal Manor of Richmond, and confirmed to them a market, which was to be the only one in a circuit of seven miles. It is not surprising that the town was mainly Royalist in the Civil Wars.

Kingston returned members to Parliament in 1311, 1312, 1314, 1353, 1374. This was probably because the town was under royal influence. There is a story that the inhabitants petitioned successfully to be spared the burden, but the petition does not seem to be extant.

But, with all its privileges and ancient dignity, Kingston was never a large and busy town. No other town in Surrey was of even equal importance, omitting the county town and the London suburbs. Reigate was a market town by charters from Edward II. and Charles II. The Earl de Warenne, who had previously had a market there once a year, petitioned for the one charter; the other was granted to please the Duke of York, who then held the manor. Blechingley was a market town from the days when the De Clares were great people. Elizabeth made Godalming a Corporation in 1575, to be governed by a Warden and eight Brethren, possibly with the idea of erecting it into a rotten borough, as she did Haslemere. Farnham was incorporated by a charter of William of Waynfleete, the Bishop of Winchester, in 1452, under two Bailiffs and twelve Burgesses.¹ But, one and all, these places were only large villages, scarcely towns, even as towns used to be reckoned. Redhill was a heathy common, Croydon a dirty village street, Norwood a thicket, Weybridge a place possessing one cart only in the seventeenth century, Egham a village, Dorking a little bigger place with a market, Letherhead,

¹ The inhabitants were careless of their rights. Bishop Horne had to renew their charter in 1566, and in 1790 it was surrendered by the last remaining Burgess to the Hon. Brownlow North, then Bishop.

Epsom, and the rest, villages. For the exclusive markets in the more favoured places there was a reason. Cattle-stealing was easy, and for police purposes it was expedient to forbid sales except at a few public markets.

The old Parliamentary boroughs of Surrey which continued to send up members till 1832 were Guildford, Southwark, Reigate, Blechingley, Haslemere, and Gatton. It is hard to account for the position of some towns as Parliamentary boroughs in the early days of Parliament. There are places which obviously were represented owing to their wealth and importance; but some places of comparative importance were unrepresented, and others of no importance at all were called upon to send members. Undoubtedly the election and the payment of members was often regarded simply as a burden and a nuisance. Not only had members to be paid, but boroughs were more highly rated than the counties for subsidies. They paid tenths instead of fifteenths, unless they were the Cinque Ports, which were in fact, though not in name, collectively a county. Neither were boroughs quite certain to be recompensed by being really represented in Parliament. The place of election was the County Court, where the delegates of the townsmen made their choice or declared the choice of their town's meeting—a choice which they often complained was overruled by the Sheriff. But it would seem in the case of the Surrey boroughs that the King had a distinct reason in his choice of places to be represented—either the idea of seeking the advice and aid of men connected with some powerful family, or in one case a desire to gratify a trusted servant. Edward I. had no corrupt motives in summoning his House of Commons. He wanted money and he wanted advice, from those who could give both or either, and he issued writs to places of importance through trade or through the interests represented in them. Members would be summoned from Guildford according to the rule that every county town should be represented. Southwark was a place of some importance, and was then a royal manor.

The members for Guildford and for Southwark, in 1295, would be the King's men, not only representing the two largest towns in Surrey, but likely to be amenable to the wishes of the Crown. The same would be true of the members for Kingston when in the next century they attended. The members for Reigate, summoned also since 1295, must be looked upon as the nominees of the Earl of Surrey, as in after-days they were nominees of the families of Hardwicke or Somers. Blechingley returned two members from the same date. Probably they were elected nominally by the whole of the extensive manor,¹ which was twenty miles in circuit; but we may be sure that in practice the members were the servants of the De Clares, Earls of Gloucester. One of the earliest is named le Welsh, and was probably one of the Earl's men from the Welsh marches. Thus, the interests of the King, and of the two greatest baronial houses in the county, were well represented in the House of Commons. On similar grounds Farnham, the property of the See of Winchester, was occasionally represented. It was then right and inevitable that this should be so. The King and the Earls and Bishops were the leaders of organized opinion. It was as necessary that men should be elected who would act with them as it is now necessary that men should be elected who will act with the recognised leaders of great parties.

Of the two remaining ancient boroughs, one, Gatton, has become almost as much a by-word as Old Sarum itself as a rotten borough, and with more cause. When Edward summoned members from Old Sarum it was still an inhabited fortress, but lately superseded by the new city of Salisbury. Gatton was rotten from the beginning. In 1449 Henry VI. granted to John Tymperley, for his good and faithful services and in return for 40 shillings, license to impark his Manor of Gatton, a right of free-warren, and

¹ The franchise in Blechingley lay with the burgage holders. There were some eighty or ninety of these in the last century, but more than eight or ten seldom attended to ratify the nomination of the proprietor.

various exemptions from juries and the like. Two years later, in 1451, two burgesses were returned by Gatton to the House of Commons. There clearly is here a gratification of John Tymperley. Returning members was an expense, but the House of Commons was influential in the days before the Wars of the Roses, and the Crown was anxious to acquire influence in it. John Tymperley probably valued the dignity of owning a Parliamentary borough, and was no doubt ready to assist the Government thereby. For there was no town at Gatton worthy of representation, nor was John Tymperley a leader of a party. The manor had a certain value; it was, as we have seen, supposed earlier than this to be able to support the services of three knights, but there is neither record nor remains of any large population. That it kept its privileges may be owing to the fact that at some unknown date, between 1449 and 1540, the manor became the property of the Crown. It then passed to the family of Copley, and in 1541 Sir Roger Copley, returning two burgesses, "freely elected and chosen," describes himself as "Burgess and oonly Inhabitant" of Gatton. As we shall see lower down, Sir Roger Copley's son's widow was not allowed the privilege of nomination, being a recusant, and the Queen's Council instructed the Sheriff to return a sufficiently loyal pair of burgesses for Gatton. Yet sometimes, later, as many as twenty voters claimed a right to vote as resident electors of Gatton.

The last remaining borough, Haslemere, is probably another instance of a borough called into existence to support the Crown. Haslemere was included in the Manor of Godalming, which belonged to the Bishop of Salisbury from Henry II.'s to Henry VIII.'s time, and was not a parish, but only a chapelry, in the parish of Chiddingfold. This is sufficient proof that it was not in itself a place of ancient importance. But Elizabeth, in her charter to the inhabitants in 1596, declares that they had sent burgesses at their own cost to Parliament since the days before the memory of man. Memory was short, or records are

imperfect, for it cannot be shown that they had ever sent any before 1584. But the Queen meant to express her desire that they should be represented. The Tudor Sovereigns were in the habit of creating small boroughs lavishly, in order to fortify their influence in the Lower House. Haslemere may be fairly taken as an example, and not so bad a case as some.

As a county Surrey was represented by two knights of the shire, probably from the reign of Henry III. onwards,¹ though the first returns extant are for 18 Edward I. (1290), when Roland de Acstede (Oxted) and William Ambesaz were returned. The elections were, of course, in the County Court at Guildford. Four shillings a day were paid to the members, together with their expenses in coming and going to and from Parliament. The first writ *de expensis* is for John de Hammes and John de Burstowe, in the Parliament of Lincoln, 1301. The expenses of Surrey members did not press so heavily on the county as did those of more distant places, when the Parliament was held, as usual, at Westminster. In 1315 the two members received £19 4s. for attendance from the Octave of St. Hilary to the Sunday after Pope Gregory—that is, January 20 to March 9 that year. In the first year of Edward III., when Parliament was again held at Lincoln, no writs were returned, “by the reason of the shortness of the time.” Possibly the distance and the business discussed, the Scotch War, were the real reasons, for the South of England was not interested as a rule in Scotch wars. The Parliament was called on August 7, and met on September 15, not an unusually short interval then. For the Parliaments of 26 and 27 Edward III. the names of single members only, Symon de Codyngton and William d’Abernon respectively, were returned.

There is no indication in the names of the Surrey knights of the shire of any violent change in the class of repre-

¹ In 1264 there is no record of knights of the shire from Surrey in the baronial Parliament held after Lewes. Perhaps Surrey was Royalist; perhaps the omission is accidental.

sentatives, or, indeed, in their actual persons or families, at any of the great constitutional crises. Before and after the action of the Lords Ordainers in Edward II.'s reign, through Edward III.'s, through the revolutions of Richard II.'s and Henry IV.'s times, and in the Wars of the Roses, the same men or the same families continually recur. We are inclined usually, from later experience, to exaggerate the part played by the House of Commons in influencing policy, and in reflecting or expressing real popular feeling, in the days before the reign of Elizabeth, at least. There was, so far as we can see, seldom any keen interest in elections. In 1414 nineteen persons sealed the indentures as having voted for the knights of the shire in Surrey. In 1447 thirty persons sealed. If they were not actually the sole electors voting, they were those who really exercised choice and controlled the rest. There were no great party fights, but there was sometimes a struggle after an election to prevent the Sheriff from substituting some other names for those duly elected.

After the supposed tampering with the county franchise of 8 and 10 Henry VI., 1430 and 1432, William Weston and Thomas Wintershull represent Surrey. William Weston had sat before, and the family had supplied members since Edward III.'s time, and a John Wintershull had sat frequently since Henry IV.'s reign. These two names, Weston especially—with D'Abernon, De Stratton, De Codyngton, De Hadresham, De Newdigate or Newdigate, and latterly Gaynsford, are among the more common families which supply knights of the shire, down to the time when the writs, indentures, and returns are lost, from Edward IV.'s seventeenth year to Edward VI.'s time. The two most famous men ever returned together for Surrey are Sir Charles Howard, afterwards Lord Howard of Effingham in Surrey, commander against the Armada, and Francis Walsingham, elected in 14 Elizabeth. The latter became Sir Francis in the following year; he was a Kentish man by birth, but resided at Barn Elms, in Surrey. Sir William

More, of Loseley, was long member under Elizabeth. He was a strong supporter and favourite of the Queen's.

Several Surrey members have filled the place of Speaker in the House of Commons—in one case with most distinguished success. In 1482, in the last Parliament of Edward IV., John Wode was Speaker. He was probably member for the county. A John Wode had been one of the members elected in 38 Henry VI. John Puckering, member for Gatton, was Speaker in 1586. Sir Richard Onslow was Speaker in 1708-9. Lastly, Arthur Onslow, member for Surrey, was elected Speaker in 1727, and filled the office with conspicuous ability till 1760, when he retired. With his predecessor in the office, the Hon. Spencer Compton, he did much to raise the position of Speaker to the dignified place above parties which it has continued since to command.





CHAPTER XIII.

ECCLESIASTICAL SURREY.

OF all the features of the ancient life of Surrey, as of other counties, the one which would seem most strange to our eyes was the position of the ecclesiastical establishment and the monastic houses. How and when the scanty population of early English Surrey passed from the heathendom which has left so many records in local names, to Christianity, is not recorded. It must be surmised that the conversion of Wessex, and the baptism of Cynegils, the King, in 635, by Birinus, the emissary of the Pope Honorius I., made a beginning of at least nominal conversion. There is no sort of trace or record of a previous Church, though the Christianity of London and of Kent, where Eadbald, who died in 640, "overthrew all idolatry," may have affected Surrey. But the heathen reaction, under the conquering Mercians, checked the progress of the Church in the South. Cenwalch of Wessex, who had begun to build the minster at Winchester, was driven from his kingdom by Penda, and Surrey came under the influence of the heathen Midlands. The influence continued to be heathen so long as the life of Penda lasted. Political and military supremacy carried a certain religious law along with it, as a matter of course. The religion of those who wielded material power was naturally adopted by an ignorant population, and when Wulfhere, the son of Penda, ravaged

Wessex and the Isle of Wight, he, being a Christian, caused his chaplain to baptize the men of the island. The march directed against the Isle of Wight very probably included Surrey in the ravaged parts of Wessex. The royal faith and royal supremacy of Mercia were extended together, and the men of Surrey would readily revert to Christianity, offered to them with the sanction of the sword of Wulfhere.

They did not become part of any Mercian diocese. The connexion with Wessex was remembered, and Surrey was, and remained, part of the West Saxon bishopric. To this bear witness charters, and even the falsifications of charters. In the early days of Mercian and West Saxon Christianity, Frithwald, Under-King of Surrey, and Earconwald, subsequently Bishop of the East Saxons, founded the collegiate church for priests at Chertsey, it is said, in 666; and Frithwald and Wulfhere of Mercia, his over-lord, endowed it with lands in Thorpe and Egham and Chobham, besides in Chertsey itself. The broad estates of the abbey in North-West Surrey in later days were ascribed to grants made in the charter which is dated not later than 675, the year of the death of Wulfhere and of the consecration of Earconwald to the See of London. But Chertsey was burnt by the Danes in about 1010, and ninety monks killed by them. It had also been sacked in the ninth century. The original documents of the abbey may have disappeared at one of these catastrophes, and the "*Carta foundationis Abbatiae de Certesia*," printed by Dugdale in Latin, with its Anglo-Saxon document of the boundaries of the land, is not the original.

The introduction from the register which prefaces the charter curiously tells us that the monastery was built "*regnante glorioso rege Anglorum Egberto*," and the charter itself says, "*primo sub rege Egberto*." Whether "*primo*" be an adverb or an adjective, it is a remarkable statement. Egbert I., King of Kent from 664 to 673, nearly contemporary with the alleged charter, is too near to have

his time referred to in this way as a former period, nor could he be called Egbert I. when there was as yet no Egbert II. Nor had Egbert of Kent anything, as far as we know, to do with Surrey. Wulfhere of Mercia was overlord of it and of him, and Frithwald is mentioned as Under-King of Surrey when Chertsey was founded. Is it possible that a monastic restorer, we will call him, thought that Egbert of Wessex was older than 675, and put in his name as a decisive mark of antiquity?

That Egbert of Wessex was understood seems to be implied by the expression, "*Anno ab incarnatione D.C.LXVI. regnante glorioso rege Anglorum Egberto.*" A King of Kent is not commonly called "*Rex Anglorum,*" and in the laws attributed to Hlothaire, brother to Egbert of Kent, the former is called King of the Kentish men only. Then, it evidently occurred to the restorer that the name of a Bishop was needed to give complete sanction to the charter, so we find, "*Similiter Humfridus episcopus rogatus ab abbate Erkenwaldo manu propria subscripsit.*" Humfrith was Bishop of Winchester in 745, some seventy years later, contemporary, it so happens, with an Egbert II. of Kent, who reigned from 726 to 749. Our restorer may possibly have been a Kentish man, and may have pitched upon Humfrith as contemporary with an Egbert whom he knew, and whom he confused with the "*Rex Anglorum,*" but who was himself neither "*Rex Anglorum*" nor "*Egbertus primus.*"

This whole grant of lands, with others, was confirmed by Pope Alexander IV., who became Pope in 1254. It is no violent supposition, therefore, to assume that the charters were reconstructed in the thirteenth century, though the Anglo-Saxon record of boundaries is of course older. But the tradition of a foundation under Frithwald and Wulfhere is likely enough true, for Frithwald is too obscure a person to have been pitched upon by a forger, and Winchester is the diocese and Mercia the over-lord with which the abbey is traditionally connected, though Eleutherius should have

been inserted instead of Humfrith as the contemporary Bishop.

From the latter half of the seventh century, then, Surrey was Christian, and was included certainly under the arrangements of Theodore, the Archbishop, in the West Saxon diocese. We can only faintly imagine what the real state of religion was. The missionary priests planted the cross on village greens or at the crossways, and preached to the people and administered the Sacraments. The law was Christian, and divinations and heathen feasts were forbidden. But with no books in circulation, and permanent centres of teaching only gradually established, the real life of the people can have been but slowly affected. They still furtively revered the sacred tree and the holy well. They still feared and propitiated by offerings the spirits of the waste, wood, and fen—the more so, perhaps, because they were now told that they were malignant demons. In the horseshoe and the Maypole, in wishing-wells and witchcraft, the old faith lingered, and not many years back we might almost have said lingers still.

The churches built by the great men upon their own estates, and served by their chaplains, or the churches raised in a township where the village cross had been first reared by some wandering priest, by degrees became established as local centres for worship and for the offerings of the faithful. But it was not till the third Lateran Council in 1179 that the parochial system can be looked upon as completed. The establishment of a perpetual succession of priests in each parish, endowed with the local tithes, which had become the rule by practice and by the voluntary grants of the land-owner, was then fixed as a system.

The fabric of no church now existing in Surrey can be conclusively shown to have existed before the Norman Conquest. But we can point to at least one instance of something approaching to parochial endowment at a much earlier period. In the reign of King Alfred, his namesake, a wealthy Ealdorman, endowed by his will the churches of

God—the Mynsterhamas of Surrey and Kent. Coming after specific gifts to Chertsey Abbey, this can hardly mean merely the endowment of monasteries in the later sense. It refers to the minsters, or baptismal churches, all served by colleges of priests, which occupied a sort of intermediate position, as the mother-churches of large districts, between the cathedrals and the parish churches of later days. A parochial system did not exist in England in the reign of Alfred, but local ecclesiastical endowment was clearly beginning.¹ When parishes were founded, they clearly followed the already existing boundaries of estates or settlements. The extraordinary straggling limbs of Old Godalming parish, for instance, were never assigned deliberately as a district conveniently situated for access to one church. On the southern escarpment of the chalk downs, it has been often noticed that every Surrey parish except Chaldon, Wanborough and Tatsfield shows a village below the chalk and a parish reaching over the chalk brow above, and out on to the sand, sometimes over the sand into the clay, below. These three exceptions show villages on the chalk, and a parish reaching below the chalk brow. The uniform arrangement of the others implies some reason of general expediency in settlement, whereby each little community had its dry but well-watered home on the sand, its bare pasture or fields to the north, and its forest or heath to the south. This apportionment of soil is not an ecclesiastical device.

By the time of the Domesday Survey we are enabled to see something of the spread of church building and endowment. In the Survey sixty-four churches are mentioned at fifty-nine places in Surrey; but this is not necessarily an exhaustive list. A church is only named if it is possessed of land, or is part of the landed estate of some landholder, in whose hands the presentation would be. At Worth, in Sussex, for instance, which is included in

¹ See Kemble, "*Codex Diplomaticus*," 317; Lord Selborne, "*Ancient Facts and Fictions about Churches and Tithes*," chap. ii., § 4.

the Surrey Survey, no church is mentioned, though, as architectural experts tell us, the church there has very good claims to be one of the few which partly date from before the Norman Conquest. Among the churches named are the Abbey of Chertsey and a minster in Southwark. Of these sixty-four churches sixty-one survive—not the actual buildings, but buildings on the site of the former, or representing them, serving the needs of the same places, and in most cases almost certainly endowed with revenues, to which their title dates, as the title relied upon by the Earl de Warenne, “a tempore de quo non exstat memoria.” The three churches of 1086 which have disappeared are Stamford Chapel near Epsom, Watendene Chapel near Sutton, and a chapel at Chobham. Chertsey Abbey is not; but the church is represented by the rebuilt parish church, the former possession of the abbey.

The places where churches are named in the Survey, and where existing parish churches probably represent the eleventh-century building on the same or a neighbouring site, are:—In Brixton Hundred: Bermondsey, Camberwell, Lambeth, Mortlake, Southwark, Streatham, Lower Tooting and Walworth; in Kingston Hundred: Ditton, Kingston, Malden and Petersham; in Emleybridge Hundred: Stoke d’Abernon, Walton-on-Thames and West Moulsey; in Godley Hundred: Byfleet, Chertsey and Chobham; in Woking Hundred: Henley, Ockham, Send, Stoke, West Clandon, West Horsley, Wisley, Woking, and Worplesden; Farnham, on the land of the Bishop of Winchester; in Godalming Hundred: Compton, Godalming and Witley; in Blackheath Hundred: Albury, Shalford, and three churches in Bramley, which may be represented by Wonersh, Bramley and St. Martha’s; in Wotton Hundred: Abinger, Betchworth and Dorking; in Reigate Hundred: Buckland, Gatton, Merstham and Nutfield; in Tandridge Hundred: Caterham, Limpsfield, Oxted, Tillingdon and Titsey; in Copthorne Hundred: Epsom, Letherhead and Mickleham; in Wallington Hundred: Banstead, Beddington, Carshalton,

Chaldon, Cheam, Coulsdon, Croydon, Merton, Sutton and Woodmansterne. The identification, however, of St. Martha's, Woneresh and Caterham is uncertain.

Even on the supposition that the churches enumerated in Domesday were all that existed in the county, a supposition that would not be justified, the proportion of churches to population may be safely said to have been ten times greater then than now. When the organizing zeal of the Bishops of the post-Hildebrandic period, and the monastic revivals of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, had done their work, the place filled by churches, monasteries and ecclesiastical persons in the life of any English county was more important than the place and influence of any institution or class in these days. The number of men in Orders was extraordinarily large compared with the whole population. According to the directions of Archbishop Langton, there were to be three or four priests to every important parish church, and to the more considerable churches no doubt this number were attached; and where there was no resident Rector, the same Archbishop enjoined that there should be a Vicar on the spot. In addition there were deacons, subdeacons, and a host of men in the other minor orders, *ostiarii*, lectors, exorcists, acolytes, whom ecclesiastical privileges and the charm of a peaceful way of living had attracted into the ranks of the clergy. Many of them were hardly distinguishable from laymen, living in the world, often with wives and families, for the vow of celibacy was not taken before the entry into the subdiaconate. But they could all "plead their clergy," if need arose, and were part of the ecclesiastical class. The chantry priests are also to be added, scattered in different places, and the regular brethren of the monasteries swelled the large number of ecclesiastical persons. Towns and villages were dominated by great ecclesiastical houses. All Farnham, for instance, depended upon the castle of the Bishop of Winchester. His house at Southwark and that of the Archbishop at Lambeth, St. Mary Overie, and the Priory of Bermondsey

were the important centres of the suburbs south of the Thames. Chertsey was the creation of the great abbey. The Cistercian house of Waverley made an oasis of cultivation and hospitality in the midst of the wildernesses of the Lower Greensand. At Reigate the priory shared the importance of the place with the castle, by whose lord it had been founded. The house of the Archbishop at Croydon, the abbey at Sheen and the priory at Newark, the priory at Guildford, even the little manor-house, first belonging to the Templars and then to the Hospitallers, at Temple Elfold in Capel, were all centres of life and employment for their respective neighbourhoods.

To gain a faint idea of what the resulting social life was like, we may picture to ourselves a state of things resembling that of a great University town of the present day, repeated in every important place, and in many places of no other note. Side by side with the ordinary town or village life was a more or less wealthy household or corporation, the members and even the dependents of which lived under a law differing from that of their neighbours, wore a different dress, followed often different avocations, paid different dues and taxes in many cases, owed a special allegiance to different authorities, and yet were essential not only to the worldly employment of those about them, but in a peculiar and particular manner were essential to their higher life, spiritual, intellectual and educational. A modern cathedral city of small population, where the ecclesiastical element is strong, is only a faint reflex of every medieval town, in Surrey as elsewhere. They were something like Oxford, Cambridge or Eton, with the privileges of the Masters, Fellows and scholars doubled, and their importance multiplied tenfold. To the sway of the great corporation, like Waverley or Newark, exercised in the country district about it, there is no parallel in modern life. The Abbey of Waverley, for instance, was free from all the ordinary incidence of service and of taxation, under a charter of King John's granting, and the Abbot ruled the estates of the corporation with

powers almost as plenary as those of the Pope in the States of the Church in living memory.

This abbey possessed the right of sanctuary, which could shelter any inmate, not only the members of the corporation, against even royal power. There is an interesting story in the annals of Waverley, under the year 1240, which illustrates well the importance of the ecclesiastical privileges for others besides ecclesiastics. A young man came to the abbey at Easter time, and was employed at his trade of shoemaking within its precincts. A charge of homicide had been made against him, apparently before his arrival, and after he had been some months at Waverley he was apprehended by the officers of the law, a knight among them, who, in spite of the vigorous protestations of the Abbot, carried him off to prison. Not only Waverley, but the whole Cistercian Order was up in arms. They complained that if men could be thus bound when under their protection there would be no difference between their houses and those of the secular clergy. The Papal Legate, Otto, Cardinal Deacon of St. Nicholas, proved unwilling to exert himself in the matter. He had wrung vast sums from the Church and kingdom, and was about to leave the country, probably caring little to burden himself with other than pecuniary business. The Abbot went then to the King himself, and Henry III. was not insensible to the advantage of conciliating the wealthy Cistercians. The Abbot vehemently denounced the infringement of the privileges of his house. In the words of the annals, "*non potest intelligi nec exponi quanto cordis dolore quanta animi amaritudine dominus Abbas se opposuit pro defensione suæ libertatis.*" The Council, on the other hand, spoke most strongly against a claim based on Papal authority, "*most perversely (*perversi perversè*) interpreting the Apostolic writings, and expounding them maliciously.*" The King and the Abbot, however, at length prevailed. The shoemaker was restored to the abbey, "*to the joy of the countryside and to the glory of our privileges.*" Those who had been guilty of the arrest were excommunicated,

and the police of the day, the knight included, "*ille miles cum ministris suis*," were only restored to their Christian privileges after making due restitution to God and the abbey, and receiving a public whipping perhaps at the hands of, or at all events under the superintendence of, the Dean of the abbey and of the Vicar of Farnham. The joy of a certain class in the neighbourhood was probably greatly increased by the closing scene.

The paramount importance of the regular ecclesiastical corporations extended, of course, beyond their immediate limits, and reflected some honour even upon the seculars. In every parish, however remote, there was at least one, and probably several persons, closely united by class ties and interests with each other, and with these greater centres of ecclesiastical organization. In their hands was a power, we dare not say not generally used for good, so far as they knew what good was, but a power of tremendous importance, influencing their fellow-men not only at the great crises of life at the beginning and the end, by the font, by the graveside, in the marriage service, but weekly and daily by confession, penance, absolution and by the mysteries of the altar.

Whatever may have been the case before, yet certainly after the Norman Conquest the greatest vigour of ecclesiastical and spiritual life was to be found in the monastic houses. Of those in Surrey, Chertsey was by far the oldest, certainly, whatever doubts may hang about the authenticity of its earliest charter in its present form.

The monastic revival in the tenth century, under Edgar and Dunstan, caused the expulsion of the secular priests from Chertsey in 964, and their replacement by Benedictine monks. The policy of Edgar runs contrary to the opinion of later times, but it is at least possible in this, as in other cases, that leading and successful statesmen knew what was best for the needs of their own day. The Benedictine abbey was among the greater and more magnificent foundations of the country. Its estates in Surrey comprised manors and lands at Wallington, Coulsdon, Sutton, Tandridge,

Cobham, Esher, Epsom, Weybridge, Kingston, Malden, Petersham, Streatham, Bookham, Chertsey, Thorpe, Effingham, Egham, Chobham, Tooting, Chipstead, Byfleet, Clendon and Henley, besides temporalities in Middlesex and Berkshire, and spiritualities in Berkshire and Cardiganshire. The monks of Chertsey were in or on the borders of the forest, and had their hunting rights at once restricted, but up to a certain extent allowed by the Crown. They were free to follow the fox, hare and wild-cat. Two of these three, however, were vermin in the view of the forest law. The improving hand of a great corporation was visible in their neighbourhood. The Thames was embanked, a stone bridge was thrown over the Wey, two mills built, fish-ponds dug, new cottages built for fishermen, a vineyard planted upon St. Anne's Hill, all under the direction of various Abbots. They exacted their dues, however, from their tenants, and in the peasants' revolt of 1381 some of the Court Rolls of the abbey manors were burnt. Not all, for a Court Roll of Thorpe of an earlier date is known to have survived. The abbey was fairly typical of the larger Benedictine houses of not quite the first rank. The Abbot was a mitred Abbot, but was not, in later days at least, a lord of Parliament. By grants of the Confessor, confirmed by the Conqueror, he enjoyed the civil jurisdiction of Godley Hundred, free from all interference of the Sheriff. At the time of the dissolution the net value of the revenues of the abbey was £659 15s. 8½d. a year. This was a financial condition comparing favourably with that of some other abbeys, but the income was small even for those days, considering the extent of the lands from which it was drawn, and considering also that it was not all rental, but was supplemented by tithes and other spiritualities. Chertsey was probably no exception to the rule that the religious houses were easy-going but also backward landlords, who failed to use their estates to the best commercial purpose, and were therefore the more popular with the countrymen, who hated change, distrusted improvement, and deprecated hurry, as the true

Surrey yeoman is apt to do still. From a return of the twenty-third year of Henry VIII., it appears that the expenditure of that year exceeded the income by over £200. Whether corrupt or not, many of the abbeys were on the road to bankruptcy at the time of the dissolution.

A curious farce was played at the dissolution of this abbey. At Bisham, in Berkshire, there had been a house of the Templars, which had been converted into a priory of Austin Canons in the fourteenth century, and had been dissolved, along with the other lesser monasteries, by Henry VIII. In 1537 John Corderoy, the last Abbot of Chertsey, surrendered his abbey to the Crown. He had succeeded only in 1529, and was a supporter of the royal supremacy. The King proceeded to reinstate him and his monks at Bisham, and undertook to transfer some of the Chertsey property to this revived foundation. But the greed for spoil increased by feeding, and within a year, in 1538, the Priory of Bisham went the way of the rest. Monasticism as it had been was out of date, and reformed monasteries were not to be given a chance of trying to adapt themselves to the times. But either the King showed more than his usual caprice, or the design of transferring Chertsey to Bisham was never seriously contemplated, for there was no treason or resistance alleged against Corderoy. The great buildings of the abbey, which covered 4 acres, have almost entirely disappeared. Aubrey, in describing it, mentions that the outer walls of the outbuildings of the abbey were still standing in the latter end of the seventeenth century. But of course the monastic buildings and the church went to ruin. The lay owners of abbey lands were far too much concerned at first in making hay while the sun shone, and getting what they could out of a change which might not be permanent, to care to spend money in keeping up buildings unsuitable for private occupation, and churches for which they had no use at all. Dr. Stukeley, the antiquary of the last century, describes some remains of the buildings, and of a mount still existing in the gardens in his day. The mount was

dug down afterwards to fill up a pond. All over the ground, he says, were scattered human remains from the burying-place of the abbey. The bones of King Henry VI. were not, however, among these desecrated relics. He had been buried without pomp at Chertsey after his probable murder in the Tower in 1471, but Henry VII. had caused his body to be removed, and to be reinterred with royal honours at Windsor. But the true monuments of King Henry VI. lie over against Windsor, and on the banks of the Cam, where Eton College and King's College perpetuate the memory of the King who did so much more for England than the savage nobility who despised and supplanted him could do.

Though Chertsey was the oldest of the Surrey monastic houses, Waverley was in one respect the most notable, as the first Cistercian house in England. The Cistercian Order was founded by an Englishman, Stephen Harding, as a protest against the corruptions which had crept into the Benedictine rule by the end of the eleventh century. Harding was a monk of Molesmes in Burgundy, and withdrew thence to Citeaux, in the same country, where the new rule was first enforced. But the eminence of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who embraced the new rule in 1115, has almost eclipsed the fame of Harding, and has led to the frequent ascription of the foundation itself of the Order to the last of the Fathers.

The Cistercians were at first distinguished by their personal austerity of life, and by their care for the sick, poor and strangers. Their houses rose commonly in remote country places, by the side of streams, in wooded valleys, and formed oases of cultivation and a safe haven for wanderers, of more reputation than the homicidal shoemaker of Waverley, in the midst of the wilderness. But they ran through the usual round of monastic corruption. Their reputation brought wealth, their wealth a gradual relaxation of the strictness of the earlier rule. In England, at least, they became noted as wealthy sheep-farmers, and the ruins of such churches as Tintern, Furness, Fountains,

Vale Crucis, and of Waverley, prove the amount of their resources, and their artistic taste in the thirteenth century. We may be permitted to believe that they were in some ways not the less useful owing to their departure from primitive simplicity. When combined industrial efforts on a purely commercial basis would have been impossible because of want of capital and insecurity from violence, their combined labours reclaimed the woods and downs to agricultural use, and their ecclesiastical privileges protected the fruit of their toil. But after their houses and churches were built and beautified, there was a limit to the use which they could make of surplus profits. The spur of personal advantage would cease to operate strongly, that of religious duty became less strongly operative as the medieval spirit in all society decayed, and before the dissolution they had evidently ceased to be as efficient an industrial organization as they might have been. In common with other monastic bodies in England they were getting into financial difficulties.

Waverley was founded in 1128 by William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester. The original monks came from D'Aumône, in Normandy, itself an offshoot of Cîteaux. Their settlement at Waverley was on the estates of the Bishop, in a characteristic situation on the banks of the Wey, where it works south from Farnham through the heaths of the Greensand under the peaked hill of Crooksbury. The neighbourhood was then, and long afterwards, a wild and desolate country, lying off the main lines of communication. In the last century the wild red-deer from Woolmer Forest still roamed into the heaths, and here William Cobbett, an observer not likely to be mistaken, said that he saw a lingering individual of the race of the true British wild-cat, perhaps the last recorded instance in Surrey.

The priority of Waverley over all the Cistercian houses in England was disputed by Furness in Lancashire. Furness was the older foundation by four years, as a Benedictine house, and was an offshoot of the then Benedictine house of Savigni in France. The Lancashire Benedictines had re-

fused at first to follow their mother-house in exchanging the Benedictine for the Cistercian rule, and though obliged at last to accept the reform, they did not do so till the pontificate of Eugenius III., after the year 1145, at least seventeen years after the foundation of Waverley, and so the Abbot of Waverley took precedence in Convocation, and in the meetings of the Order, over all the heads of Cistercian abbeys. How vigorously one of the Abbots could stand up for the privileges of his Order we have seen.

Though not on the main roads, Waverley was not inaccessible from Farnham and the Pilgrims' Way, and to this it perhaps owed the equivocal honour of entertaining King John and his Court in 1208. The King had the prudence to bring his own wine with him (2 tuns, or about 500 gallons) for a few days' consumption. Chertsey Abbey made its own wine. As Waverley subsequently was endowed by Edward III. with a pipe of red wine from Gascony yearly, wine was not apparently produced there, and King John may have looked simply to the probable quantity required, and not have feared the quality of a native vintage. The visit made so favourable an impression, however, upon the King that he restored some of the property of the abbey, which he had seized after the Interdict, and so enabled the work of building a new church, begun in 1203, to be continued. In 1245 Simon de Montfort and his wife, the Lady Eleanor, sister to the King, visited the abbey and gave large gifts. At last, in 1278, the new church was finished, and dedicated by Nicholas de Hely, Bishop of Winchester. Unlike Tintern, the church at Waverley stood to the north of the abbey buildings, so as not to exclude the sun from the living-rooms.

The occasion of the dedication, on St. Matthew's Day, illustrates once more how large a space a great ecclesiastical establishment filled in the life of a neighbourhood. The Bishop nobly entertained the whole multitude of devout spectators, not only with meat and drink, but with the promise of one year's remission of purgatory, adding, more-

over, forty days' pardon to all who should frequent the place on the anniversary of the dedication for ever. The feasting lasted for nine days. Medieval statistics are more than suspicious always. The Waverley Annals confine the Bishop's share of the hospitality to one day, and give no exact numbers of those who enjoyed it. The Worcester Annals say that six Abbots, other prelates, many knights and ladies, and innumerable crowds, were present, that the feasting lasted at the Bishop's expense for nine days, and that on the first day only 7,066 persons were entertained, and that all there "returned to their homes glorifying and praising God." There is a circumstantiality about the fiction very characteristic of the medieval statistician, but we may well believe that the whole neighbourhood was on such an occasion more than royally feasted. Within a year the body of Bishop Nicholas was laid in the new church which he had dedicated with such splendour.

When the time of dissolution came in 1536, Waverley fell among the lesser monasteries. The property was returned as worth £197 13s. 10½d. a year in gross value, but subject to charges which reduced it to £174 8s. 3½d. The monks no doubt subsisted largely, or entirely, on the produce of their garden, not included in this reckoning. As usual, the amount of dues and rental strikes us as small, considering the amount of the property and the expenses in hospitality and in repairs of the large buildings for which the abbey was responsible. As in other cases, the church and fabric generally went to ruin in the hands of the new owners, but not merely by neglect. Aubrey saw considerable remains of past splendour at Waverley, but from his time onwards the prosaic eighteenth century used the abbey as a quarry of ready-prepared hewn stone, and stripped the walls of the whole of the ashlar blocks, leaving only the core of rubble to moulder rapidly away.¹

¹ Excavations made since 1898, at the base of the walls, show hewn and carved stones *in situ* at the old ground-level. That they were not taken away is owing to the rise of the level of the surrounding ground, from the deposit left by floods and from other natural causes, before the era of deliberate stripping of the walls began.

A more enduring memorial of Waverley exists in its Annals, which are of considerable historical value. *More monastico*, they start from the Christian era—it is something gained that they omit the period from the Creation to that time—and they are not authoritative in their earlier part. But on the reign of John they are full and good, and from 1219 to 1266 are contemporary chronicles of each year. From 1266 to 1275 they are identical with the Winchester Annals, and are probably copied from them, and they cease in 1291. Though giving strictly local details about the abbey itself, they are not specially concerned with the events or life of the county. It is probable that the acquaintance of a curious antiquary with these Annals has immortalized the name of Waverley in a world that for the most part has never heard of the Cistercian house, and that the Abbey of Waverley suggested the name of Waverley Honour.

Another Surrey monastery, of a different character from the last, was the Cluniac house at Bermondsey, founded in 1082 by Alwin Child, citizen of London, and further endowed by William Rufus and many other benefactors. The Domesday record of “*nova et pulchra Ecclesia*” at Bermondsey may refer to the new priory church. The proximity of the place to London, and a reputation for healthiness of air, hard to reconcile with the low-lying situation by the Thames at all times, and with the abominable odours of offensive trades which have made the place vile in these days, contributed to make Bermondsey a favourite refuge for the great and to attract benefactions. The great William, Earl of Mortaine, the widow of Henry V., and the widow of Edward IV. died here. Henry II. once held his Court in the priory, and many distinguished people were buried in the church. The permanent results of the industry of the monks remain in the banking-out of the river from the marshes as they used to be, the alleys among the tanneries and soap-boiling shops of the present. The abbey buildings were extensive, and figure conspicuously in the foreground of views of London in the seventeenth century. A consider-

able part was pulled down in 1760, and most of the rest in 1805. Grange Walk, Abbey Road and Bermondsey Square mark the site. But the special point of curiosity about Bermondsey is that it was an Alien Priory, rich in English lands, but depending upon the Cluniac Abbey of La Charité-sur-Loire in France, whence monks had been brought by William Rufus, and was thus officered and directed by foreigners.

The Alien Priories were always a source of trouble and suspicion to English Kings and ecclesiastics. They were out of touch with the national Church, not only, like other monastic houses as a rule, independent of the Bishops, but wanting the feeling which, after all, connected English Abbots with other English Churchmen. In time of war they were lukewarm in supporting the Crown against France, for all the Alien Priories were French, or Flemish, or Breton, and were accused, at least, of sending information abroad. When the disastrous resumption of the French war, in the latter part of Edward III.'s reign, drove that King to every expedient for raising money, he took possession of the property of Bermondsey in 1371. The foreign Prior died in 1372, and in 1373 the custody of the priory was given to Richard Denton, an Englishman; and in 1380 the house was made formally independent of La Charité, and its property restored, saving the right of the Crown to the advowson of the churches formerly held by the society. In 1399 the next Prior, John Attelborough, was raised to the dignity of Abbot. John Wharton, the last Abbot, making haste to surrender to his adversary while in the way with him, was rewarded by Henry VIII., not only with a pension, but with the bishopric of St. Asaph in 1536. He retained his see through the time of the Six Articles and Edward VI.'s ecclesiastical legislation, accepted the Papal supremacy under Mary, was translated to Hereford, and perhaps was only prevented by death from making another accommodation with the times in 1559. He was evidently a man to be depended upon by the ruling powers.

From Bermondsey sprang originally another great religious and charitable establishment on the Surrey side of the Thames. In 1213 the then Prior of Bermondsey erected a hospital for sick folk on the land belonging to his house. The Canons of St. Mary Overie had almost simultaneously started a hospital in their own precincts, and in 1228 the two were combined by the influence of Peter des Roches, the well-known statesman and Bishop of Winchester, and the united hospitals on the Bermondsey site were dedicated to St. Thomas à Becket. The hospital stood a little way back from the Thames, about half-way between St. Mary's Church and St. Olaf's Church. In 1436 the small Priory of Sandown, in Surrey, was suppressed, and the property granted to St. Thomas's. In common with other ecclesiastical corporations, the brethren of St. Thomas were dissolved by Henry in 1539, and the lepers, or reputed lepers, and others whom they had fostered, were cast out upon the world. Here, however, the public injury was so glaring that the mischief was remedied, at least partially, owing, it is said, to the representations of Bishop Ridley. The Corporation of London were allowed to buy the old buildings and to repair them at their own expense, and the Crown and Corporation between them re-endowed the Hospital of St. Thomas under the old name, but taking care to point out that the patron saint henceforth was not Thomas the Archbishop, and, according to Tudor views, the traitor, but St. Thomas the Apostle. The transfer of the charity to its new and scientifically, if not beautifully, built home in Lambeth took place in our own time.

The temporary suppression—for to that it practically amounted—of Bermondsey, and its subsequent reconstruction as an English abbey, saved it probably from a worse alternative. The house was too important and well known to be summarily suppressed altogether, as was the case with many small Alien Priories. In 1414, at the Parliament of Leicester, which decided upon the French war, Henry V. totally suppressed the remaining Alien

Priorities by Act of Parliament. Tooting Bec, the cell founded from the famous Norman Abbey of Bec, was among the suppressions. Henry VI. subsequently intended its small revenues to go to his new foundation at Eton, but they were appropriated by Edward IV., and granted elsewhere.

From the confiscated lands and revenues of five of the Alien Priorities, Henry endowed another great Surrey monastery, the Carthusian Priory of Sheen, at West Sheen, on ground now covered by part of Kew Gardens. The priory at Sheen is one of the last great monastic foundations of England. The age of monasticism was already passing when it was founded, and none but a medieval King, born out of due time, would have raised it. Such a man was Henry V., would-be Crusader, zealot for the Catholic faith, ardent labourer for the healing of the Papal schism. It was a house for forty monks, with an endowment worth £777 12s. at the dissolution. As in the case of Bermondsey, the last Prior anticipated the end by a voluntary surrender, and, as in the case of Robert Wharton, so Henry Man also became a Bishop of Sodor and Man, though not till 1546, and held his see through King Edward's reign, dying in 1556. Before he died, his former house had been revived by Queen Mary. The site had been granted first to the Duke of Somerset, on his attainder to the Duke of Suffolk, and the death of the second grantee also as a traitor had given it back to the Crown. Under Elizabeth, of course it was again dissolved, and so was not only the last founded, but one of the last of the greater monasteries to perish.

It was to Sheen that, according to the English account, the body of James IV. of Scotland was taken from the corpse-heaps of Flodden Field. Stowe, the antiquary, saw the bones wrapped in lead, which were supposed to be those of the Scottish King, lying neglected in a chamber of the deserted monastery in 1552. An eminent Englishman of the same age retired there to die. Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, for all his antagonism to the monks, prepared for

himself a lodging within the precincts, and died there in 1519. Reginald Pole, before his exile, had also lodged in the monastery.

Sheen, or Richmond as it had become under Henry VII., had also the distinction of being the site of the actually last religious house in England founded by the Crown. Henry established there a house of Observant Friars in 1499, which survived only till 1534.

One of the most popular of the religious Orders in England was that of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, the Austin Canons, as they were usually called. Whereas the Benedictines had originally included many men who were not in Orders, the Canons were all priests, living under what was in fact a monastic rule. The great Priory of Merton, founded in 1114, whose head ranked as a mitred Abbot; Newark, *de Novo Loco*, so called because it did not occupy the old site of habitation in the neighbourhood called Aldebury, founded under Richard I.; Reigate Priory, founded by William de Warenne before 1240, all belonged to this Order. Their records are not specially distinctive, nor illustrative of general ecclesiastical history. The Canons of Merton, it is true, were so strongly addicted to hunting that they had to be forbidden in the fourteenth century to keep hunting dogs within their precincts under penalty of being restricted to bread and ale for six feast-days, no intolerable hardship, and afterwards were seriously admonished for going about equipped with bows and arrows. Yet at their school was educated Thomas à Becket, and from it also went forth Walter de Merton, the Chancellor of England, who founded Merton College, Oxford. Merton, too, was the scene of some important events in English history. Hubert de Burgh, who had property in Surrey at Banstead, took refuge here on his fall in 1232. He barely escaped being dragged from sanctuary, and incautiously removing to a place of less reputation at Brentwood, he was seized there. At Merton, in 1236, was held the Parliament which, fearful of the influence of the Poitevins and Provençals,

and of the growing influence of the Roman law, laid down the famous maxim, "*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.*"

Newark is, after Waverley, the most considerable ruin of all the Surrey religious houses; the rest have for the most part entirely perished. Its lofty walls still form a picturesque object on the banks of the Wey. A sewer to drain the abbey buildings has been discovered at Newark, and has given rise to the usual legend about a subterranean passage, only distinguished from the ordinary by being rather more scurrilous and silly. St. Martha's, or St. Martyr's, in Chilworth, belonged to Newark, and a few Canons dwelt there on the southern side of the hill.

The Dominican Friars had a small house at Guildford, founded by Eleanor of Provence, and suppressed under Wolsey in 1523. They had been benefited under the will of Sir Reginald Bray, one of the two statesmen to whom the credit of Henry VII.'s government seems to be really due. The site and part of the buildings of the Guildford Priory became a royal residence, finally alienated by Charles I. to the Earl of Annandale, along with Guildford Park. The stained-glass windows in Abbot's Hospital are said to have come from the Dominican chapel. They are certainly in part older than the date of the hospital, and are probably Flemish, but they seem rather too good for a house of small property, like all those suppressed by Wolsey. They must at any rate have been a recent acquisition by the Dominicans, for they are not earlier than the late fifteenth century. A county so poor in large towns could not offer the usual field for the activity of the Friars, and we do not find them in the other small centres of population in Surrey. There were not, probably, many poor in Southwark who were not already provided for by the Bishops' houses and the older established religious Orders there. It was across the river, in the crowded outskirts of the city, that the Friars found a congenial home.

But though no great establishment of the Friars was in Surrey, yet a Surrey man arose among the Franciscans to

play a great part in his time. William of Ockham was, taking him all in all for intellectual power and influence in Europe, perhaps the greatest man whom Surrey ever produced. His work, therefore, necessarily was beyond the confines of his native county, but he must claim a brief mention in its history.

He was born at Ockham in the latter part of the thirteenth century, and studied at Oxford, tradition says at Merton, but he was not a Fellow. He belonged to the Franciscans, to the Friars Minors, and was known not only as the champion of the Nominalists against the school of St. Thomas Aquinas, in which career he earned the title of Doctor Invincibilis and Doctor Singularis, but as the assailer of Papal Infallibility. He was engaged in controversy on the subject of the property of the Apostles against the Avignon Pope, John XXII., and hence supported the Emperor Louis of Bavaria, the ally of Edward III., in his struggle against the Papal power. Louis, supported by Ockham, appealed to a General Council against the Pope, and assembled a meeting of the Ghibelline clergy, who accused the Pope of heresy for his opinions about the future state. John, in subsequent imprudent expressions, alarmed his own supporters by propounding opinions that gave an evident support to the accusation. The Pope was perhaps not speaking *ex cathedrâ*, and so could err and mislead others without detriment to his infallibility. But posterity may consider that the victory was substantially with the Englishman, when the Pope admitted that he had made a mistake, and again on his death-bed recalled and cancelled anything which he had said, preached or written, contrary to the orthodox opinion. Ockham died an old man about 1349. He was excommunicated, of course, in his earlier quarrel with the Pope, but submitted on the original question concerning the poverty or property of the Apostles, and was absolved. His later opinion was maintained, and triumphed over that of the Pope. The next Pope wisely confirmed it.

To complete the list of the smaller monastic foundations

in Surrey, there was a small Priory of Canons at Tandridge and a College of priests at Lingfield. At East Horsley there was a Priory of Black Nuns, and at Oxenford, near Eashing, a small nunnery dependent upon Waverley.

In Southwark the one monastic church in the county named in Domesday, besides Chertsey, still remains in use as a church. St. Mary Overie was founded in 1107 by William Giffard, for Secular Canons of St. Augustine,¹ collegiate clergy, not unlike the Fellows of a college in one of our Universities before the days of commissions, who, according to Dugdale, "*absurdo et monstroso nomine Canonici Seculares hoc est Regulares irregulares dicti sunt.*" But some mystery hangs over the foundation. There seems certainly to have been a college of priests here before the Norman Conquest, from Domesday evidence.² A charter of Stephen's describes them as Canons Regular, and it is possible that either the rule of the newly-reformed Canons may have been imposed soon after the foundation in 1107, or that Secular Canons had really been there only in the previous time, when a *monasterium* existed before Giffard. Their church was preserved by being converted at the dissolution into a parish church for the combined parishes of St. Mary Magdalen and St. Margaret. The original Church of St. Mary Magdalen had been a chapel of St. Mary Overie's. The church was renamed St. Saviour's in 1541, on the union of the two old parishes being made. Two famous Bishops of Winchester, Peter des Roches and Cardinal Beaufort, contributed in turn to the rebuilding of

¹ "*Canonicos Seculares ibi instituit*" (Dugdale, "*Monasticon*," quoting a manuscript in Corpus Christi College, Oxford). Tanner, "*Notitia Monastica*," discredits the secular canons. They were certainly regulars afterwards. The foundation is also attributed to two knights, William de Pont de l'Arche and William Dawncey, in 1106. They perhaps began, and Giffard completed, the reorganization or restoration of the priests.

² "*Ipse Episcopus (Baiocensis) habet in Sudwerche unum monasterium*" (Domesday, 32, a. 1). *Monasterium* in Domesday does not mean merely *ecclesia*, though *ecclesia* may mean a monastic church. Stowe had a story from the last Prior that there used to be a nunnery here which was converted into a college of priests by a lady named Swithun (a man's name) at some unknown date. But the story was avowedly only traditional.

the house and church, the latter after a fire which had occurred in the reign of Richard II. The Cardinal's niece, Joan Beaufort, was here married to James I. of Scotland in 1423.

Merton Priory was the richest Surrey house at the dissolution, with £957 19s. 5d. a year; St. Mary Overie had £614 6s. 6d.; Bermondsey had £474 14s. 4½d. The exactness of the spoiler is admirable. Newark had £258 11s. 11d., Reigate only £68 16s. 10d. Sheen, as we have noted, was rich, as was very likely in the case of a comparatively recent foundation well endowed to begin with; Chertsey not so rich as the extent of property would lead us to expect; Waverley positively poor, looking at the fame of the abbey and the extent of its buildings.

None of the Surrey Abbots were latterly lords of Parliament. The number of these was not fixed for a long time, nor were the summonses regular. In 1265, for instance, the heads of Chertsey, Waverley, and Merton had all been summoned to De Montfort's famous Parliament, and at intervals they were all summoned at other times, down to Edward III.'s reign. But they ceased after that time to be called upon. By two centuries before the dissolution, Parliamentary Abbots included very few except the heads of Benedictine houses of royal or reputably royal foundation. Chertsey was the only house of this class in Surrey. But the royal foundation of Chertsey was perhaps too remote to be counted, and Kings of Mercia and Under-Kings of Surrey scarcely represented the Crown of England. Even Edgar's refoundation was remote, and not commonly insisted upon by the abbey, which liked to date back to the seventh century.

Looking at the ecclesiastical organization of the county as a whole, we find Surrey forming an archdeaconry under the Bishop of Winchester. The earliest Archdeacon named is Stephen, who witnessed the foundation charter of Waverley. Among eminent or notorious men who held the office were John Stokesley, Archdeacon in 1522, after-

wards Bishop of London, and known for the part he took in the question of the dissolution of the marriage of Henry and Queen Katherine; Edward Lee, Archdeacon in 1530, and Archbishop of York in the next year; John Pearson, appointed in 1660, Pearson "On the Creed"; and Samuel Wilberforce 1839. There were four rural deaneries: Ewell, Southwark, Guildford, and Croydon. But under Henry VIII. they were reduced to three, Ewell, Southwark, and Stoke. Croydon was thrown into Ewell, except the parish of East Horsley, which went to Stoke, and Newington, which was included in Southwark. Leigh and Horley were taken from Guildford and added to Ewell. Titsey, Beddington, Sutton, and Coulsdon were taken from Ewell and added to Southwark. Stoke Deanery represented Guildford, with the alterations mentioned.

Bishop Sumner divided the deaneries for more effective administration in 1829. They were again reconstructed in 1878, when the new Deanery of Farnham was erected, and Stoke divided into Dorking and Godalming.

Before that time, by successive changes in 1836, 1846, 1863, 1877, the ancient ecclesiastical unity of Surrey had been broken up. First Lambeth and Addington were added to the Canterbury diocese, then in 1846 the all-devouring London annexed the Surrey suburbs ecclesiastically, as they had been already partially annexed civilly. In 1877 East and Mid-Surrey were given to Rochester, a distant and essentially foreign see, in a county unconnected with Surrey since at least the days of the defeat of Ethelbert. The rest of the county has remained attached to Winchester—a connexion which, if inconvenient, owing to the incapacity of rival railway directors to facilitate travelling, is at all events venerable. The Suffragan Bishops Act of Henry VIII. has allowed the title of Bishop of Guildford to exist, and perhaps some day Surrey may be reunited under a Bishop of her own.



CHAPTER XIV.

SECULAR HISTORY OF THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

IN the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the various rebellions or wars which surged about London naturally affected our county. The wave of social disorder which reached its height in the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 was felt in Surrey as in the surrounding counties. We lack, however, anything like the stories, full of picturesque detail, which describe the tumults of Bury St. Edmunds and St. Albans from the local point of view. The great importance of the Kentish movement, the fighting in Norfolk, and the stubborn opposition of the villeins in Essex, have engaged the attention of the general chroniclers, who dismiss briefly the universal disturbances in nearly all England. Of these Surrey had evidently a considerable share. The causes which underlay the insurrection were various. The grievances of the villeins, aggravated by the economic disturbances which followed the Black Death; the harsh and unworkable provisions of the Statutes of Labourers; the Poll-tax, and taxation generally; the weakness and incapacity of the central Government; the lawlessness springing from a long period of warfare; the spreading of revolutionary ideas, both in politics and religion, coming into the country from abroad, and affecting first the East and South-east—all these contributed to not only one great rising, but

to a period of disorder. But we may infer that Surrey was stirred rather by the same grievances which roused Essex, than by those which made Kent rise. The rising of the villeins, as it was called, was headed by the Kentish men, among whom villeinage had been extinct for more than two generations. The Lancashire of medieval England, the thickly-populated, trading, intelligent county, foremost in all political stirs, rose against general misgovernment and over-taxation, and in sympathy with socialistic theories. No doubt Surrey in the neighbourhood of Kent and of London, Southwark and the Thames Valley, felt with Kent and London. But in rural Surrey there was a population probably as backward as any in Southern England, and certainly villein tenures were not extinct in Surrey then, nor, indeed, absolutely extinct for 200 years later.¹

In the more thickly inhabited parts of the county we find the tenants of the Chertsey Benedictines raising a riot and burning some of the manorial rolls of the abbey. The villeins came into Guildford, and, no doubt joined by the unprivileged townsmen, showed scant respect to the rights of the *probi homines*, and destroyed their charter.² The whole countryside was full of rapine, murder, and burnings, the outrages of an outraged peasantry, and the insurgents swarmed up towards London, where the Kentish men were already encamped upon Blackheath. The country was troubled from end to end, but the first and greatest alarm to the Government was from the counties of Essex, Kent, Surrey, Sussex and Middlesex, where labourers and others, they were informed, had collected together, compelled their betters to go with them, killed many of the King's lieges, and burned many houses. Among the Kentish men was at least one gentleman and several priests; but the small

¹ In 1547 Sir Robert Southwell and his wife conveyed to Henry Lechford the manors of Charlwood, Shellwood and Wykelond, *with the bondmen and their families*.

² See above, Chapter XI. The only record of the riot in Guildford is from the statement by the townsmen, in a petition to Parliament in 1383, that their charters had been "lost" in the late insurrection. Letters Patent granting a new charter were issued 1384 (Patent Rolls, Richard II.).

tradesmen, artisans, and little farmers were the leaders, with no doubt many an old soldier from the French wars among them. But there was little order or concerted action. Among the demands for the abolition of the crying evils under which they suffered was heard, of course, the never-ceasing assertion of the doctrine, as dear to the socialist mob as to the protectionist Government against which they had risen, that prices and wages and rents were all to be fixed by law, and henceforth "seven halfpenny loaves shall be sold for a penny, and the three-hooped pot shall have ten hoops." On June 12 the mob entered Southwark, the populace making common cause with them, and broke into the Marshalsea and liberated the prisoners, destroyed the King's Bench Prison and the houses of obnoxious citizens, and with more cause the places where a regulated immorality was carried on under the connivance of the ecclesiastical Lord of the Manor, and to the profit of the Lord Mayor and of women of Flanders, who rented the houses. A band of the Essex men, we are told, sacked the Archbishop's palace at Lambeth, and burned the records of the Chancery, for Simon of Sudbury was both Archbishop and Chancellor. If it is true that this was done on June 12 by Essex men, a communication by boat must have been already established across the river, for the drawbridge of London Bridge was up. On June 13 "the Surrey men, who were risen with others, cried to the warders of the bridge to let it down, whereby they might pass, or else they would destroy them all. Whereby they were constrained by fear to let it down and give them entry." These Surrey men were most likely the Southwark people, in touch with those who were in fact their fellow-Londoners across the river, and able to appeal to them as friends more readily than the peasants of Kent and Sussex could do. The London mob, of course, was in sympathy with the rising, though the citizens trembled for their goods and lives. So the insurrection pours out of our county across the bridge, and the wild scenes in London—the murder of the Arch-

bishop, the burning of the Savoy, the withdrawal of the Essex men deluded by false promises, the death of Wat Tyler, the courage of the young King and the strange melting away of the leaderless mob—belong to other history.

But we can follow the fortunes of the rebellion in Surrey still, by aid chiefly of the Patent Rolls of 1381 to 1383. As soon as the first storm of insurrection had blown over the vengeance of the ruling classes fell heavily upon the peasantry. Armies marched into Kent and Essex, the two most deeply affected counties, and in every shire special commissions were appointed to deal with offenders. Richard Earl of Arundel, Richard Poynings, Thomas Camoys, Edward St. John, Edward Dalyngrigge, Edmund Fitz-Herbert, William de Percy, and the Sheriffs sat for Surrey and Sussex. They had work upon their hands. In July the Earl of Arundel was directed to bestow prisoners in his castles of Lewes and Arundel, as Guildford Castle, the common gaol of the two counties, was full. One prisoner had the good luck to escape out of Guildford. But the work was not confined to punishment for past offences. England, or at least many a part of it, including Surrey, was still in a state of something very like insurrection. The disaffected were united in societies, based upon the labour unions which had arisen to defy the Statutes of Labourers, and they met to listen to the preaching of the followers of John Ball, or to plan new desperate attempts at a rising.

In December, 1381, the Earl of Arundel, Reginald Cobham, William Croser, James de Berners, Nicholas de Carew, John Newdigate and Robert Loxley were appointed to preserve the peace in the county of Surrey, to arrest those who congregate in unlawful assemblies, or who incite to insurrection, to suppress the said assemblies and put down the rebels with armed force if necessary. The state of Surrey is indicated by a subsequent pardon to John Mylot, of Mitcham in Surrey, granted by favour of the good Queen Anne, for all treasons and felonies committed by him in the late insurrection, between May 1 and November 1, 1381.

But in March, 1382, a similar commission to the above was issued to some of the same men, with the Bishop of Winchester and William Weston added, which speaks of the congregations of the disaffected as still being held, and empowers the persons named to raise the *posse comitatus* and lead them against the rebels, suppress their meetings and arrest their goods. Again, in December, 1382, a similar commission was issued. The disorder affected all classes. In many other parts of England we have instances of outrages in which knights, clerks and gentlemen were concerned, and which involved murder and rape, destruction of trees and fishponds, forcible entry and vulgar robbery. The lists of such outrages are not exhaustive, and there is no reason to suppose that Surrey was free from them. The state of Ireland during the last four years of the last century, immediately before and after the rebellion of 1798, was no worse than the condition of the Home counties from 1381 to 1383, terrorized by rebellion with good cause and by necessary repression in good earnest.

Sixty-nine years afterwards history seems to repeat itself, when Kent, aided by Sussex and Surrey, was again in arms and occupying Southwark. The rebellion of Jack Cade, however, in 1450, was not of the nature of a Jacquerie, except that it was inevitable that it should draw disorderly persons along with it, like all armed risings, and be accompanied by violence and rapine. Again we find the prosperous trading counties in arms against a weak and incapable Government. There were in the background greater men than appeared, ready to profit by, if not prompting, the rebellion, and the demands of the insurgents were mainly political, and pointed to a change of Ministry and the setting up of the Duke of York as the King's adviser and probable successor.

Kent and East Sussex rose as for a national war. The Constables in several hundreds summoned the able-bodied men to serve; the corporations of towns, land-owners, and gentlemen were actually engaged or aiding and abetting.

Surrey was, as before, the scene of some of the operations of the rebellion, and was, as before, more or less involved in it also. Indeed, the famous Captain of Kent may have been a Surrey man by residence. Who Jack Cade was, and who the Captain of Kent was, are perhaps not quite the same question. From "The Collections of a London Citizen," Gregory, it seems possible that the original Captain of Kent, who kept good order when they first rose, with all the gentry behind him, disappeared, perhaps killed in the victory over the royal troops at Sevenoaks, and that Cade stepped into his place.

Be that as it may, Cade has given his name to a rising which certainly was brought about by greater than he. He is said to have been an Irish soldier, who had been obliged to fly the country for a very brutal murder, to have served in the French armies till some action made France unsafe for him too, and then to have returned to England, with, of course, the prospect of being hanged if he were recognised. He passed as a physician, under the name of Aylmer, which if true is evidence that he was not a mere illiterate soldier, and married the daughter of a gentleman at "Taundede," which is probably Tandridge in Surrey, not far from the borders of Kent. There is no place-name in Kent at all like it. His wife was apparently an heiress, for his land is mentioned in his attainder. This man, at all events, whatever his origin, bearing the assumed name of Mortimer, headed the rebels when they entered Southwark on July 1. He took up his quarters at the White Hart, and his men plundered the house of Sir John Fastolfe, who was a resident in Southwark. This old soldier of the French wars had the singular misfortune of being made the victim of the rebels' rapacity, and of being accused by his enemies of an understanding with them. As a fact, Fastolfe had got together some of his old soldiers from France to oppose the insurgents in Southwark, and had been hardly persuaded by his servant Payn to abandon his scheme of resistance. But he had sent Payn to Blackheath to know

Cade's demands, and this was construed into negotiation with them, though Payn was all but murdered by the orders of Cade, and only saved by the interposition of an influential friend among the rebels.

On July 2 Cade was admitted into the City, and the murder of Lord Say and of Crowmer, and the other deeds of violence connected with the rising, were perpetrated. His headquarters, however, remained in Southwark, and, with little of an old soldier's vigilance, he took no pains to secure the bridge, except by cutting the ropes of the draw-bridge in the middle of it. Consequently, when the citizens were tired of his presence, and mustered up courage to resist, they called for aid from Lord Scales, the Governor of the Tower, and in the night of July 5 held the bridge against the insurgents.

That night and on the next day there was sharp fighting on the bridge. Matthew Gough, a well-known officer who led the men from the Tower, was killed. Sir John Fastolfe's servant, Payn, who had stayed on the spot in Southwark to protect his master's property, was thrust into the fighting and badly wounded. But the result was as usual. London could not be forced from the South, and the rebels were beaten back. The Archbishop Kempe seized the occasion to offer terms, first a truce and then a pardon, whereupon the bulk of his followers left Cade, dropping off to their homes in Kent, Sussex, and Surrey. Cade's own pardon was made out in his assumed name of Mortimer, and was therefore of no value. A borrowed honour had he bought too dear. Knowing that it was invalid, or justly suspecting that in no case was he really likely to be excused, he tried to rally to himself the worse elements of the rising, broke open the Surrey-side prisons, the Marshalsea, the King's Bench and the Clink, and with a band of criminals and outlaws tarried in Southwark till July 9, and then withdrew to Rochester, taking much plunder with him. So he and his rising pass out of Surrey history but for the pardons issued to Surrey men, and for the lasting grievances of Sir

John Fastolfe and of Payn, injured in goods, reputation and person. The grumblings of Payn, and his story of how he barely escaped with his life, are preserved in the Paston Letters.

Two years later the North of Surrey was again traversed by an army. In 1452 the Duke of York was in arms against the Duke of Somerset. York, advancing from the Welsh Marches, desired to be admitted into London, but on the King's refusal to receive him, crossed Kingston Bridge and came through Surrey to Blackheath, where a temporary accommodation was arranged, which resulted in something like a treacherous seizure of the Duke after he had dismissed his forces. He was too popular, and had too many powerful friends, to be sent to the Tower, and was shortly liberated. Marching south of the Thames, York had found himself among friends. He and his nephew, the Earl of Warwick, were looked upon as the champions of good administration by the industrial parts of England, and Warwick was also specially popular in the Cinque Ports. The greatest land-owners of Surrey were the representatives of the De Warennes in the female line, the Mowbrays, the Howards and the Fitz-Alans, all Yorkist, and united by marriage to the House of York. Their influence outweighed that of the Staffords, the Dukes of Buckingham, who were on the Lancastrian side, and who had inherited some of the lands of the De Clares in Surrey—Blechingley, for instance.

So long as the contest was purely Yorkist and Lancastrian, the South-eastern counties as a group were free from war on any large scale, being as much under the influence of one side, the Yorkists, as they were afterwards under the influence of the Parliament in the Great Civil War.

When, however, Warwick broke with Edward IV., in 1470, and joined the Lancastrians, these counties wavered in their allegiance to the Yorkist cause. The Fitz-Alans and the Mowbrays were steady, though the Earl of Arundel was

Warwick's brother-in-law; but the commonalty were discontented with Edward's arbitrary government and taxation, and clung to Warwick as their leader. When Edward returned, in 1471, to win back his throne by hard fighting, London was vacillating, and only the supineness or treachery of Warwick's commanders, who allowed Edward to go by them from the north and reach London first, decided the City in his favour. He fought and slew Warwick at Barnet, however, and, going down into the West, destroyed the Queen's forces at Tewkesbury. After Tewkesbury had been fought, and a great part of the victorious army had been dispersed, a storm gathered suddenly in the South, which was very near confounding the hopes of the Yorkists after all. Calais was in the hands of Warwick's party, and they had a fleet on the narrow seas, piratical their enemies called it, under the Bastard of Falconbridge, an adventurer of great reputation for courage. Taking on board part of the garrison of Calais, he came with his ships to the coast of Kent, and proceeded to raise the country for King Henry. Though the Earl of Arundel was nominally Warden of the Cinque Ports and Governor of Dover Castle for King Edward, he was not in actual possession, and Falconbridge, with the coast in his hands, marched from Sandwich towards London, while his ships came up the Thames and transported some of his men across the river to threaten London from the north. On May 5, the day after Tewkesbury was fought, he was in Southwark with, it is said, 20,000 men, soldiers from Calais and his ships, and a great levy of Kent, Sussex and Surrey men. A party in London were for admitting him "maugre of the Lord Scales hede, the Mayre and alle his brethyr." It is impossible that, as Warkworth affirms, the news of Tewkesbury could have reached London, and once in London Falconbridge would have had the captive King Henry in his hands. Jasper Tudor, the Earl of Pembroke, was also, we may remember, still in the field in Wales, and the Earl of Oxford, the most persistent and skilful of the Lancastrian leaders, was alive and at liberty. But Falconbridge spoiled his chances by

impatience to begin with. "He loosede his gonnes into the citee, and brent at Algate and at Londone brygge,"¹ thereby turning all the inhabitants against him. The exact account of the action would be interesting if it could be recovered. He seems to have attacked London Bridge from the Surrey side with infantry and artillery, while his ships, lying at Redcliff out of the reach of Lord Scales' batteries in the Tower, kept up his communications with another land force, with artillery, which made a diversion at Aldgate. His failure illustrates well the military strength of London against the attacking resources of the day. London Bridge, if resolutely held, was impregnable. The attack on the narrow entrance of the position could not be supplemented by a flank attack, as in Olaf Tryggveson's days, for artillery in the Tower forbade the passage of a fleet up the river. At all events, the attack failed, like all others from the Surrey side, and the Bastard then marched westward with his army to Kingston Bridge. There, however, his heart failed him. Warkworth tells us that Lord Scales, and others of King Edward's party, wrought upon those about him, especially Nicholas Faunt, the Mayor of Canterbury, to counsel a retreat, and "for as myche as fayre wordes and promyses makes fooles fayne," he was prevailed upon to retrace his steps to Blackheath. Probably the news of Tewkesbury field had something to do with his retreat. From Blackheath he withdrew with his Calais soldiers and shipmen to Sandwich, the local levies melted away, and the enterprise came to an end.

These various armies which marched backwards and forwards through Surrey, from Blackheath to Kingston, must have probably followed the line of Peckham Lane and Camberwell Lane, to the old Roman road that ran from south-west to north-east through Streatham, and thence have taken the still more ancient line of the Ridgeway through Wimbledon—the same line by which Ethelbert

¹ Warkworth Chronicle.

had marched against Ceawlin of Wessex, 900 years before, and by which he had retreated "usque in Kent."

Yet once more, before the fifteenth century ended, a body of rebels passed through Surrey. In 1497 the Cornish men rose against taxation voted in Parliament, and objected to pay money to protect the Northern counties from a Scottish invasion. The rebellion shows curiously the small material support in soldiers available for the maintenance of the Tudor monarchy. Led by a blacksmith, a country attorney and a bankrupt peer, Lord Audley, the rebels marched from Cornwall through Taunton, Wells, Salisbury, Winchester, and the whole breadth of Surrey, to the favourite camping-ground of Blackheath. The King's troops were mustering in St. George's Fields, Southwark. The Cornish men had passed from Winchester to Farnham and to Guildford, near which town on June 14 they had their first brush with an advanced guard despatched by Lord Daubeney, the royal commander, to observe their march. Daubeney, however, failed to keep in touch with them, for on the 16th he was making a reconnaissance towards Kingston, evidently under the idea that the rebels were coming straight upon London from Guildford, or endeavouring to cross the Thames at Kingston Bridge. They meanwhile were marching upon Kent, believing that the people there would join them. The Kentish men did not stir, and, disappointed of their aid, the Cornish, a body of 15,000 men, it is asserted, though many had deserted on the march, especially when help from Kent failed, turned northward to Blackheath. They in all probability had followed the Pilgrims' Way, by which they had entered Surrey, along its whole course in the county, by Dorking, Merstham and Titsey into Kent. Lord Audley's father, John, had lived in Surrey, at Vachery, and lay buried in Shiere Church. The son, James, passed his father's resting-place on his way to a worse end. This Audley had been a Yorkist, and James was a ruined man, such as are apt for wild rebellions. The King's Minister, Sir Reginald Bray, against whom the rebels clamoured, was

perhaps in possession of Audley's paternal estate.¹ The army of the rebels made a bold resistance in the fight on Blackheath, but were overborne by the numbers and artillery of the King's army. The date of the battle is variously given as June 17 and June 22. The former date has much authority behind it, but is almost or quite incompatible with the dates of the skirmish near Guildford on the 14th and the reconnoissance of the King's commander towards Kingston on the 16th. All accounts represent the King as taking careful measures to surround the rebels at Blackheath, and imply that they were encamped there at least a day before the battle. If so, Daubeney would not have been looking for them westward on the 16th.²

¹ The question of ownership is difficult. See Manning and Bray *sub voce* Shiere.

² The date is only important from our point of view as determining their line of march through Surrey. Polydore Vergil clearly implies that they marched right into Kent. If they did this, and evaded the royal troops, they cannot have gone straight to Blackheath. The Act of Attainder, 1504, and Stowe give the 22nd as the date of the battle. In 1263 De Montfort had taken a whole day marching from Guildford to Reigate. The rebels probably performed that march on the 15th or 16th, and would reach Kent the next day. They must be given a day or two for testing the feelings of the Kentish men. "Accederunt—postremo in Cantiam—Ductores postquam viderunt Cantianos minime se movere," etc. (Polydore Vergil, xxvi.).





CHAPTER XV.

SURREY UNDER THE TUDORS.

IT was in the reign of Henry VII. that Surrey became again a county of habitual royal residence, to a degree which it had not been since the time when Henry III. had kept Court at Guildford. Kings had resided at the royal manor of Sheen. Edward III. had died there. Henry V. had rebuilt the palace at Sheen which Richard II. had pulled down because Anne of Bohemia had died there. But Henry Tudor rebuilt the old house with great magnificence in 1501, after a fire, and after a second fire in 1506 repaired it again. He gave it the name of Richmond from the earldom which he had held before his accession, and the name gradually supplanted Sheen for the whole town which had grown up round the palace and Carthusian house. A survey taken by order of the Long Parliament in 1649 describes the "privy lodgings" of Richmond, as a "freestone building, three stories high, with fourteen turrets covered with lead—a very graceful ornament to the whole house, and perspicuous to the country round about." There was a round tower, and a chapel 96 feet long. Pictures of it show the three main stories, and the fourteen turrets, battlemented, with small globular domes, like inverted balloons, upon them, and a weathercock on each. Among them arise a host of tall brick chimneys; and a slightly larger turret, with a dome, surmounted by a cross,

stands at the west end of the chapel. It was clearly a fine building in the earlier Tudor fashion. Henry died at Richmond. Henry VIII. sometimes resided there, but at one time allowed Wolsey to lodge there, to the indignation of the old servants of Henry VII., who, in Hall's words, "grudged that a butcher's dog should lie in the Manor of Richmond."

But royalty was entertained there also: Philip the Handsome by Henry VII., the Emperor Charles by Henry VIII., Eric of Sweden by Elizabeth. Elizabeth herself had been there, in practical confinement, for a short part of Mary's reign, but was not thereby deterred from keeping Court at Richmond as Queen. Perhaps the contrast was to her liking. But at Richmond she, too, died. Since Edward III. had passed away at the same place, deserted and plundered in his last hours, no such drama of the irony of fate had been played in England. We can picture from descriptions the great Queen—solitary in her greatness and success, the wonderful leader of a wonderful age, sitting silent on the floor for hours at a time, propped up on cushions, her finger on her lips—or see her passing along the corridors with a drawn sword in her hand, striking the arras which concealed some imaginary traitor. Her courtiers, unable any more to prolong the farce of personal admiration, waited nervously upon the dying lioness, while their hopes and interests travelled far away to the Court of Scotland, or with more dangerous intent to Lord Beauchamp, the Lady Arabella, or the Court of Spain. Charles I., too, passed some time at Richmond. Practically a prisoner to the Parliament and army, he hunted in the park in 1647. That the park was there to hunt in was among the reasons why he was a prisoner. The Great Park had been of his enclosing in 1636, and had caused much dissatisfaction, for the King had bought out private owners and commoners, whose lands and rights lay among the royal preserves, at a time when it was difficult and dangerous for them to refuse the sale. Laud had strongly

but vainly urged the impolicy of the proceeding. Richmond Palace was much dilapidated during the interregnum, but was not finally demolished till the last century.

Richmond, as the royal residence in Surrey, was in danger of being eclipsed by Nonsuch, which stood between Cheam, Ewell and Worcester Park, in the little parish of Cuddington, which had been abolished as a separate parish, and swallowed up in the royal residence and parks, but has since been restored as an ecclesiastical parish, while the palace has perished. In 1526 Henry VIII. took by an exchange the Manor of Cuddington, pulled down the manor-house, parish church and all other houses, and enclosed two parks of about 1,600 acres altogether. The Worcester Park of to-day is upon the site of one of them. The King's zeal against enclosures did not begin at home. He got into his hands by purchase, exchange or confiscation the manors of Cuddington, Esher, Malden, Weybridge, Byfleet, Imber, Weston, Moulsey Prior, West Moulsey, Walton Leigh and Oatlands, and by an Act of Parliament, 31 Henry VIII., 5, erected them along with some Middlesex manors into the Honour of Hampton Court, and constituted them into a royal forest, with the usual courts and privileges. The Act was never formally repealed, but was constructively abrogated by the Long Parliament in 1646. The proceeding was far more outrageous than that of Charles I. at Richmond, but a Tudor could steal a horse where a Stewart might not look over a hedge. William I.'s action in the New Forest was only distinguished by being on somewhat a larger scale. Cuddington was the only place actually depopulated, apparently, by Henry. Here, in 1539, he began the great palace of Nonsuch, which was left unfinished at his death. Queen Mary contemplated pulling it down, but the Earl of Arundel bought it, "for the love and honour he bore to his old master," and completed the house. On his death it passed to his son-in-law, Lord Lumley, and was purchased from him by the Queen in 1591.

Language seems scarcely sufficient to express the splendours of Nonsuch as it appeared to its contemporaries. Camden says: "It is built with so much splendour and elegance, that it stands a monument of art; and you would think the whole science of architecture exhausted on this building." The name implied that it was unrivalled—*cui nulla par*. "Nonciutz, c'est à dire Nonpareil," is the French description of it. The same writer tells us that it was ornamented within and without with magnificent statues, "some of which vividly represent the antiquities of Rome, and some surpass them." A German traveller dwells enthusiastically upon the gardens, where there were many columns and pyramids of marble, "with two fountains that spout water, one like a pyramid, the other round, upon which are perched small birds that stream water out of their bills." There was also a fountain with statuary representing Actæon with Diana and her nymphs, and another pyramid of marble "full of concealed pipes which spirt upon all who come within their reach." The magnificence of our ancestors was seldom considered complete without the addition of some stupid practical joke. The Duke of Pomerania, travelling in England in 1602, was also deeply impressed by the gardens and house of "Nonsuitze," the artistic plaster figures and the grove of Diana.

A survey of Nonsuch, ordered by Parliament in 1650, gives a description of it, by which we gather that there was an outer court of 150 by 132 feet enclosed by buildings of stone of two lofty stories, enriched by bas-reliefs, and entered by a great gate-house of three stories with four turrets, one at each corner. Another gate-house of similar make led to the inner court of 137 by 116 feet, standing up eight steps at a higher level than the first court, and surrounded by a building of one stone and one wooden storey. The wood was covered by lead and slates arranged in patterns, and the whole of the inner court was ornamented with bas-reliefs in plaster. Two high towers rose from the east and west corners of the inner court. From the inner court, as is

clear from the description. The picture in the margin of Speed's map of Surrey shows these towers in such a way as to have led copyists to place them over the outer building, giving to the whole a still more grotesque appearance than it had in reality. The picture agrees with the description, but is badly drawn, and so misunderstood. John Evelyn speaks with a qualified admiration of the bas-reliefs, and, referring more especially to the timber in the parks, calls it a stately place. Pictures of it, no doubt imperfect, give the impression of a somewhat barbaric magnificence overloaded with ornament. Its bestowal, in the reign of Charles II., upon Lady Castlemaine, created Duchess of Cleveland, might seem a natural end to such a place. She pulled it down and divided the land into farms.

The honour of the royal residence at Richmond and Nonsuch was not considered an unmixed benefit by the county. An Act of Henry VIII.'s Parliament in 1536, entitled A Bill for the Increase of Horses, had ordered all owners and tenants of parks to keep mares and to breed from horses of a certain size. The Act was probably evaded, but was put in force again under Elizabeth, and produced a remonstrance from Surrey. The shire, it was said, was among "the least and barrenest in England," and "the most charged of any by reason that Her Majesty lieth within or about the shire continually, and thereby [it] is charged with continual removes and carriage of coals, wood and other provision to the Court; and likewise with continual carriage for the Admiralty and the Master of the Ordynance; also by my Lord Treasurer for the reparations of Her Majesty's houses." Purveyance was, in fact, still a grievance. The carriage for the Admiralty and for the "Master of the Ordynance" must have been of oak for shipbuilding, and of iron guns from the iron works of the weald. On the removal of the Court from Richmond, the county of Surrey had to provide 80 carriages; on its removal from Nonsuch, 110; from Oatlands, where James I. often resided, 100. The parish of Weybridge,

in 1607, represented the grievance of this burden, forasmuch as they had only one cart in the parish. Purveyance also implied the furnishing of supplies *ad libitum* at a fixed rate, and every old woman trembled for her chickens till the King had passed by. It was only legally abolished after the Restoration. It was also complained that taxation was in fact made heavier in Surrey by the proximity of the Court. "There is never a shire in England so deeply cessed in the subsidies as this is, by reason that it is so nigh the Court that both gentlemen's livings and others are very well known, whether it be in lands or goods, so as if any default should be, it is straightway subject to controlment." They were too much under the eye of authority to cheat the Exchequer.

Besides royal parks, the number of parks in Surrey was considerable for the size of the county. Twenty-one are enumerated in the proceedings under the Act for the Increase of Horses, and two royal parks are certainly left out of the list. Speed's map of James I.'s reign marks thirty-five. Not being a great farming county, the enclosures for profit, encroaching upon commons or upon common fields, were not so frequent as in some other places, till the eighteenth century was nearly over.

There were, however, probably some enclosures on the wastes. There were common woods in the county, which from their value for timber and for charcoal-burning would be a strong temptation to the Lords of the Manors. At all events, the complaints which were generally rife in England against oppressive and enclosing owners seem to have extended to Surrey. The year 1549 had seen about the height of this complaint, when religious and social discontent combined to make open rebellion in Norfolk, Devon and Somerset, and something very like it elsewhere.

The Council of Regency of Edward VI. was in fear of a general insurrection. On June 29 the Earl of Arundel gave an unfavourable report of Surrey. He wrote from Guildford to Sir William Petre, a member of the Government, that

"the county remains in a quavering quiet," and that the people were ill-affected. On June 30 Sir Christopher More was ordered to muster his friends, tenants and well-wishers for immediate service. On July 1 noblemen and gentlemen were commanded to repair to the protection of the King at Windsor. The panic was so great of some general rising in the South and West that the inhabitants of Staines were bidden to be in readiness to break down Staines Bridge over the Thames to hinder the march of rebels.¹ They petitioned against being compelled to do anything of the kind. But the rebellion was kept under. The actual rebels in Devonshire were crushed by foreign mercenaries. The cry of the Devonshire men had been for the Mass and the Six Articles. In other places it had been "Kill the gentlemen!" Men from Surrey, Middlesex, Kent and Sussex were among those who were punished for rebellion. But in Surrey it was complained that the machinery of the law was weak. There were not enough justices to act, and the county gaol needed repairs. Christopher More, an energetic supporter of the Government, was just dead. It was recommended that his son, William More, should be appointed a justice in his place.¹ As Sir William More he was afterwards in high favour with Elizabeth.

The subsidence of these more serious troubles still left the ousted squatters, the dispossessed monks and hangers-on of monasteries, the professional vagrants—in short, the unemployed, who formed one of the chronic difficulties of the sixteenth century—to be dealt with. They were as frequent in Surrey as anywhere in England. They wandered on the heaths, and in the woods of the Weald on the borders of Sussex and Surrey, and in 1573 the justices of Sussex were specially charged to hunt them out of the frontier districts on the edge of the counties. In 1585 they were recommended to the notice of Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord Lieutenant of both counties. "A great stoare of stout vagabonds and maysterlesse men, able enough for labour,

¹ State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI., vii. 44, 46, viii. 48.

which do great hurte in the county by their idle and naughtie life." So the Council described them. Orders were given that they were to be arrested, sent to London, and shipped as soldiers to the Low Countries, "where they shall be well used and entertained." These poor vagabonds seem familiar to us, so vividly does the age live in the pages of its great dramatist :

"Pitiful rascals . . . Food for powder, food for powder ; they'll fill a pit as well as better."

Shakespeare had scarcely come to London in time to see this ragged regiment marching through to their entertainment at the hands of Parma's veterans. Some such sight he had no doubt seen elsewhere.

But the entertainment and usage which the impressed soldiers received from their own Government were poor enough, apart from Spanish warfare. For six months they were abroad unpaid, and looking to the antecedents of some among them at least, it is no wonder that we hear of them as "committing daily upon the villages and people extreme spoils, insolences and mischiefs."¹ Some deserted to the Spaniards to get food, some straggled home ; but the "stout vagabonds," the "food for powder," fought stoutly, too, when fed and well led.

"There are not three of my hundred and fifty left alive, and they're for the town's end to beg during life."

The history of any English county under Henry VIII. and his children necessarily includes the record of religious persecution, and the local diffusion of opinion makes the story of various shires strikingly different in this respect. The changes in ecclesiastical law under Henry, the prohibition of appeals to Rome, the total abolition of the Papal supremacy over the Church of England, the acknowledgment by Convocation and by Parliament of a new and more despotic form of royal supremacy, the dissolution of religious houses, were constitutional and political acts,

¹ Wilkes to Leicester, March 12, 1587, quoted by Motley, "United Netherlands," vol. ii., chap. xiii.

dictated by political and other considerations, and not dependent upon religious opinion concerning the Sacraments, nor other purely theological questions. That they were violently resisted in the North and not in the South depended upon the social and political differences of the North and South. Rebellion was easier in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, where the influence of the anti-Tudor nobility was greater, where the abbeys controlled a large number of rough and warlike tenantry, where conservative political opinion detested the upstart Ministry of Cromwell, and where there was little trade to suffer by disorder. It was harder in the South, where the increase of trade and the influence of the middle classes tended towards the support of the Executive. In several of the monastic houses of Surrey the King's policy was anticipated, as we have seen, by a voluntary surrender. Yet deniers of the royal supremacy were to be found, and were dealt with there as elsewhere.

In 1539 the despotism in Church and State was fully established. In neither was the old organization swept away. The constitutional authority was preserved in form, to be revived, sooner or later, when the terrible personality of the great King had been removed and the traditions of his policy had become modified. But for the time the personal will of the Crown became the directing force whereby everything was determined. By Act of Parliament, the famous Six Articles Act, the faith of the Church was defined on the ancient lines, and swift and merciless punishment decreed against all who differed from it. Yet perhaps only from twenty to thirty persons suffered as heretics under the Six Articles Act. One of these, a priest named Saxy, is said by Foxe to have been hanged in the porter's lodge of the house of the Bishop of Winchester in Southwark—a singular place and mode of execution. Nothing more seems to be known about him; but if he suffered under the Six Articles at all, he may be the only instance of a Surrey man so suffering. The greater body of the

people, however, acquiesced in the royal policy at the time.

The records of the misdoings and fate of obscure men are themselves often obscure. We know not, for instance, whether it was as a heretic or a denier of the royal supremacy that the "lewd and naughtie" curate of Witley got into such trouble in July, 1544, that the Lords of the Council got hold of him, and finally remitted him to Sir Christopher More for examination. The poor curate made submission for his fault, whatever it was, but it is noted that thereby "appered his malitious and naughtie stomacke."

Yet we can find instances of sufferers in Surrey who died for their denial of the royal supremacy. The living of Wandsworth had been in the hands of the Abbey of Westminster. The manor had been in their possession since the days of the Conqueror. By the final suppression of 1539 the advowson passed to the Crown. The Vicar, John Griffiths,¹ was less amenable to prudence than his immediate spiritual patron had been. The last Abbot of Westminster had turned into the first Dean, and had acquiesced in the necessary concomitants of the change. Griffiths was accused of denying the royal supremacy, and with his servant and his chaplain, according to Strype, though who the chaplain of a parochial priest might be is not explained, but certainly along with a Franciscan friar named Waire, was convicted of treason.

There was a stream crossing the Kent road near the limits of the parishes of Newington and Camberwell, and the place where it crossed the road was called St. Thomas's Waterings.² Thither the Corporation of London sometimes came in state to welcome distinguished visitors to the City. There they had received Henry V. returning from the victory of Agincourt. It was the spot where the host of the

¹ Called absurdly by Manning and Bray "Griffiths Clarke." His name was John, and he was *clericus*.

² There was another St. Thomas's Waterings, where the road from London to Guildford is crossed by a small stream near Send. The name is not now used.

Tabard suggested to his fellow-pilgrims the telling of the "Canterbury Tales."

"And forth we riden, a litel more than pas,
Un-to the watering of Seint Thomas,
And there our host bigan his hors areste," etc.

It was a public place of note, on a frequented road, and so selected for a place of execution, and John Griffiths and his companions were hanged, drawn, and quartered there, according to the disgusting and horrible fashion of an execution for high treason. In defence of the ostentatious publicity of such executions, we must remember that they were intended to strike terror, and if they had been carried out in more decent privacy they would never have been heard of at all by most people, when newspapers, penny-a-liners, and correspondents were non-existent. In 1541, after the death of Cromwell, but while the reign of terror over which he had presided still continued, Sir David Genson, a Knight of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, which had been suppressed two years earlier, suffered at the same place for the same crime, denying the royal supremacy. St. Thomas's Waterings continued to be the scene of such executions in Surrey. Of the five that took place under Elizabeth, three were there. In 1598 a Franciscan friar was hanged there; in 1600 John Rigby, a layman; in 1601 John Pibush, a priest. The other two sufferers in this cause in Surrey died at Kingston-on-Thames. William Way, alias Flower, a priest, was hanged there on September 23, and William Wigges, a priest, on October 1, both in 1588, in the autumn after the defeat of the Armada, when England was in a fervour of patriotic exultation, but when the completeness of the victory rendered the execution of the penal laws in all their rigour less excusable.

Of the real measure of guilt of these men it is impossible to speak with certainty. A Government like that of Henry VIII. has only itself to thank for the presumption which it establishes against itself in cases where we do not know very definitely the guilt of its victims. A Vicar of

Wandsworth and his servant were not likely to be a real danger to the State. Deprivation of the one, and consequent loss of wages by the other, might have been sufficient punishment. A Knight of St. John belonging to an Order powerful still and respected abroad, and affording means for intrigue with the Emperor's Government, might be more rationally considered dangerous. Of the Elizabethan victims, the Franciscan and the three priests came into England deliberately, with their lives in their hands, to subvert the constitution of the Church, and by implication necessarily, if they fully succeeded, to upset the dynasty. They were prepared to win, and it is hard to deny that they won the crown of martyrdom in what they believed to be the cause of God. A wiser toleration might have deprived them of the chance of such distinction, but the policy of Elizabeth's Government has that presumption in its favour which is raised by extraordinary and unlooked-for success.

Apart from political measures, and opposition to them, religious opinion on purely theological questions seems to leave little trace of its action in Surrey during the Reformation. Protestantism as a belief, Lutheran, Zwinglian, and, above all, Calvinistic, opinions, came into England by sea in the tracks of commerce. London and the Eastern and South-eastern counties were in close connexion with the Netherlands and Lower Germany, where all the sects of the Reformation had their representatives, and where some of them arose. The number of foreigners, or men of foreign descent, settled in this part of England was considerable before the sixteenth century; and in the middle of that century they began to be reinforced by refugees fleeing for the sake of these very opinions from the dominions of Charles V. In the Universities a certain amount of doctrinal Protestantism was to be found, produced generally by connexion of some sort with foreign divines; but it was in this Eastern and South-eastern trading and manufacturing population that the foreign opinions spread first and fastest.

When the whole world was not yet divided by one sharp defining line into the supporters and the opponents of the Reformation, the majority of Englishmen, knowing little and caring less about doctrinal niceties, went to church as custom bade, and listened to what services the law commanded from time to time. It was only in the counties which have been referred to as in contact with the Netherlands, that any considerable number of persons were found who were zealous to withstand the Marian reaction—a reaction which went back beyond the point where her father halted—and who were firm enough to become martyrs for their opinions.

Of the 277 Marian martyrs enumerated by Foxe, 234—something near six-sevenths of the whole number—came from the coast counties round the South-east, from the Wash to Chichester Harbour, with Hertfordshire and Middlesex thrown in. There were zealously persecuting Bishops in other sees than London, Canterbury, Norwich, and Chichester. The inference is that there were few strongly pronounced Protestants elsewhere.

Surrey lay back from the busier lines of trade along which opinion travelled. Southwark, it is true, might be expected to share the opinions of London, and in London Protestantism was no doubt common. But Southwark had been pre-eminently an ecclesiastical suburb. Its prosperity had depended in no small degree upon its religious houses. Bermondsey, St. Mary Overie, the Archbishop's Palace, the house of the Bishop of Winchester, and the rest, had all given it splendour and employment, and scarcely was there one of these establishments which had not at least suffered under the Reformation, and might hope to recover under the reaction. Besides the old hangers-on of the religious houses, there was a population in Southwark, about the Clink, who could not be expected to have any religious opinions at all. The country about Surrey, in spite of what we have said of Kent and Sussex, was not strongly Protestant. The Kentish martyrs, so far as their abodes

appear in Foxe, were nearly all from East Kent or the banks of the Thames and Medway. The Sussex martyrs belonged to the coast towns and villages, and to East Sussex, between Lewes and the Kentish border. There was only one martyr in Hampshire, and three in Berkshire.

In Surrey there were three, who suffered in St. George's Fields, Southwark, in May, 1557. Their names were Stephen Gratwicke, William Morant and one King. Of these three, one, Stephen Gratwicke, was certainly not a Surrey man, but came from Brighton, and complained that he was not condemned by his own Ordinary, the Bishop of Chichester.¹ It is not allowable to say that authority in Surrey was slack, and not on the look-out for heretics. A Commission sat in Southwark for trying certain of the leading Protestants, those who were first arrested, but it was not concerned with county or diocesan administration. Stephen Gardiner was Bishop of Winchester. Though the persecution was none of his doing, yet he was Chancellor, the head of the administration in fact, and certainly not a lax or careless administrator. Yet no heretics suffered at all in his diocese in his life-time. The three suffering in Surrey, mentioned above, perished under his successor, White, who had a bad name as concerned in the condemnation of several martyrs in other dioceses. Yet he found no one to punish in rural Surrey.

Early in the reign of Mary the northern borders of Surrey were stirred by the insurrection of Sir Thomas Wyatt against the Queen's Spanish marriage. This was the ostensible object of a rising which, if successful by any

¹ In the Loseley manuscripts edited by Mr. Kempe is a list which the editor takes to be the names of thirty martyrs in Surrey in Mary's reign. This is a mistake ; for twenty-seven of these names belong to Sussex, and are those of persons who suffered at Chichester, Lewes, and other places in Sussex. The list, however, is valuable, for its three Surrey and twenty-seven Sussex men and women are evidently not copied from Foxe. The order and the spelling of the names vary from those in Foxe, sometimes widely, as Dyreke Harmer for Diricke Carver. But yet they are clearly the same, with one exception at Lewes, and thereby afford corroboration of Foxe as accurate on the whole and nearly exhaustive.

chance, must have resulted in the overthrow of the Queen's Government altogether. Wyatt rose in Kent on January 26, 1554, and seized Rochester Bridge and repaired the defences of the castle. Kent was full of the Reformed opinions, and in such close connexion with the Netherlands that the picture of Spanish domination, such as was exercised in those provinces, being extended to England was vividly present to men's minds there. As in the days of Tyler and of Cade, advanced popular opinion found a ready expression in a rising in Kent. The situation might become more formidable for the Government by the fact of the rebels being in occupation of the road from London to the ports whence communication was quickest to Calais and the Continent generally.

A formidable accession of strength to the rebellion was feared from Surrey. Blechingley, in the hands of the Crown since the attainder of the last Duke of Buckingham, had been granted to the ex-Queen Anne of Cleves, and Sir Thomas Cawarden lived there as Bailiff and Keeper of the Forests. He had also bought the reversion of the property after the Queen's death. He was evidently suspected as a possible accomplice of Wyatt's, for before the latter could advance Lord William Howard issued orders for the seizure of arms at Sir Thomas's house. The Loseley Manuscripts have a startling account of what a country gentleman could accumulate in the way of warlike stores. We have from them that the Lord Admiral's men seized 102 corslets, 100 morys pikes, 100 morions, 20 shirts of mail, 50 black corslets, 26 white corslets, 54 Almain rivets (a sort of armour for the body), 24 demi-lances, 86 horsemen's staves, 100 pikes, 100 bows of the second-best kind, 2 handguns, many other pieces of armour and weapons, and 16 great pieces of ordnance. Putting aside the train of artillery, which surely means a cannon foundry near at hand, he had complete armour for, we may safely say, 110 horse and 350 foot. Certainly, if his loyalty was not above suspicion, and the strength of his house too, the arms were better bestowed in carts and

taken to London—at least, from the point of view of the Government. Sir Thomas, though he suffered arrest, could not be implicated in the rebellion, and complained bitterly that he never got half his arsenal back again. It is doubtful if he could have wanted so much for any good purpose.

On January 29 the Duke of Norfolk advanced upon Rochester, with his own followers and a body of Londoners. The Londoners sympathized with the rebellion and deserted in a body to Wyatt, who marched forward towards London, and on February 1 was at Deptford, and on February 3 entered Southwark. He had wasted time in messages to the Queen, demanding a practically complete surrender, which it was futile to expect from a daughter of Henry VIII. His one chance had probably lain in prompt action, while the defection of the Londoners at Rochester was still working for panic and distrust among the Queen's supporters. Very differently equipped armies from his, and far more able commanders, had failed to force London from the Surrey side. What the Bastard of Falconbridge could not do, what the greater Bastard, William the Norman, had not attempted, could not be accomplished by a Wyatt. His men fell to plundering the house of the Chancellor, the Bishop of Winchester. In the words of Stowe, "Divers of his company being gentlemen, as they said, went to Winchester place," and "made havocke of the Bishop's goodes, not only of his victuals whereof there was plenty, but whatsoever else, not leaving so much as one locke of a doore, but the same was taken off and carried away, nor a book in his gallery or library uncut or rent in pieces, so that men might have gone up to the knees in leaves of bookes, cut out and throwne under feete." Stowe was in London when Wyatt was in Southwark, and he may possibly have seen this havoc with his own eyes, after the rebels had gone forward.

Another more closely interested witness was at hand. Dr. Poynt had been made Bishop of Winchester in the previous reign, on the deprivation of Gardiner, giving up, according to Strype, the great temporalities of the see into

the King's hands, and accepting instead a pension of 2,000 marks. This transaction, however, does not appear in the letters patent which appointed him. The appointment had been carried out by royal authority in 1551. The same authority annulled it in 1553. Mary Tudor had no hesitation in using the royal supremacy, which was expressed in her style and title when she was proclaimed, and for a year later. Among other such acts she had restored Gardiner to his see, by letters patent, apparently, in July, 1553. John Poynt, the deprived Edwardian Bishop, now came with Wyatt, a type of those who certainly expected something more than a change of Ministry from the rising, and probably he looked with some uneasiness upon the ravage of what he hoped might again be his own house in Southwark.

It was easier to pillage Winchester House than to force London Bridge. The drawbridge was up, and there was no sign of Wyatt's partisans rising behind it. The guns of the Tower were pointed upon Southwark, and though troops attacking the bridge would have been in very little danger from the batteries of the Tower, armed with the artillery of those days, the men of Southwark were seized with a panic that they were about to be bombarded, and begged Wyatt to leave them. He marched for Kingston Bridge on February 6. The bridge had been broken, but he repaired the passage with planks and went across, and then back upon the less defensible side of London. At Kingston he passes out of our county, and how his biggest gun broke down and could not be got along; how Dr. Poynt "at that very place where the gun did breake tooke his leave of his secret friends, and said he would pray unto God for their goode successe, and so did depart and went into Germany," and there died; and how Wyatt fought his way despairing up to Ludgate, and back to Temple Bar, and then surrendered—all this lies outside Surrey history. The same conclusion, however, appears that is to be drawn from all early military history—that London was in those days impregnable from the Surrey side.

Less than six years later time won the victory for which Wyatt fought in vain. Queen Mary died at St. James's in November, 1558. The Archbishop, Cardinal Pole, died at his palace at Lambeth the next day, and his body lay in state there forty days, before removal to Canterbury, where he was buried in his cathedral—the last Archbishop to lie there, till not the least of his successors, Dr. Benson, was borne thither in 1896.

At the funeral of the Queen, John White, the successor of Stephen Gardiner at Winchester, preached the funeral sermon from the text, "I praised the dead which are already dead, more than the living which are yet alive," and added in the course of his sermon that "a live dog was better than a dead lion." The reflection upon the new Queen was too obvious and outrageous, and John White, in 1559, made way for Robert Horne as Bishop of Winchester. Edmund Mervin, Archdeacon of Surrey, was also deprived. Parker reigned at Lambeth in the place of Pole, and was consecrated there on December 17, 1559, by two Bishops consecrated in King Edward's, and two consecrated in King Henry's time, in the presence, amongst others, of William, Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral and member of the late Queen's Council, a resident in Surrey.

But the state and magnificence of Lambeth no doubt dwindled. The modest scholar and antiquary, Matthew Parker, did not retain the hundred servants who were necessary to the dignity of the late Cardinal-Legate, a Prince of the Church and of the English blood-royal. But the changed world only slowly affected Surrey. The restored Carthusians again left Sheen. A handful of priests, who had supplanted married clergy of Edward's time, made way again for the latter, or for others. The Mass was said for a few months, and then, in June, 1559, was dropped for the English Communion Offices. As elsewhere, the greatest of changes seemed to make little immediate stir in Surrey.

Yet remote country places did feel sometimes the results of the action of politics upon religion. At Okewood, in

Surrey, between Ockley and the Sussex border, above the little stream of the Oke, among the woodlands of the Weald, stood a small chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist. It was founded before 1290, and in 1431 was enriched by Edward de la Hale, a gentleman of the neighbourhood, with land subsequently valued at £200 a year. The Act of 1 Edward VI., cap. 14, by which all chantries and chapels were taken by the Crown, seemed fatal to it, for it was not a parochial church. The lands were granted to a layman, the materials of the chapel valued for sale, and its demolition, or at least its unroofing for lead and timber's sake, decided upon. The obscure peasantry of the Weald then petitioned the Crown, in language which had surely been taught them by some person of knowledge, pointing out that not only would their souls' health be endangered by the pulling down of the chapel—for they dwelt far from any parish church—but that their obedience to the Crown might decay if they were not every Sunday taught their duty to the King. The argument prevailed, and for fear of a revolution in Okewood the chapel fabric was spared. The lands, however, were gone, and £5 a year was granted from the Treasury to maintain a priest. In the reign of Elizabeth an almost identical petition was presented, reciting the former events, but saying that there was no priest there then, and that the payment of the £5 had been suspended. Elizabeth graciously allowed 5 marks a year as a stipend to another minister, and the Vicar of Okewood remained one of the few examples of a State-paid clergyman. The priest who was expected to live upon this—and we will hope upon the bounty of the faithful as well—was named Hamlet. The names of the petitioners are those common still in the neighbouring villages. The endowment is now, thanks to latter-day Churchmanship, more than 5 marks a year.



CHAPTER XVI.

ELIZABETH—THE RECUSANTS AND THE ARMADA.

THE Government, though it might plunder religious foundations, had no idea of allowing religious liberty.

Almost at once, at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, we find traces of Protestant Nonconformity, and of its suppression in Surrey. On September 19, 1560, Mr. William More received a warrant from the Council to arrest David Orch, and other ringleaders of the Sectaries, who proposed to hold a conventicle at the shortly-ensuing fair on St. Catherine's Hill, near Guildford. This fair is said to have given to Bunyan a model for his Vanity Fair. Did he know that Christian and Faithful had ever been there arrested? We may perhaps hesitate to allow David Orch and his friends such respectable names. On May 28, 1561, Mr. More received the depositions of certain inhabitants of Womersh and Dunsfold touching their knowledge of certain Sectaries, "their doctrines, practises, and devilish devices." Some years later the "Family of Love" had adherents in Surrey. Their opinions were fatal to civil government and social life, and probably are meant by the "devilish devices" of 1560. But there is no certainty that David Orch was one of them.

Far more general and dangerous was Romanist Nonconformity, or Recusancy, to give it the ordinary name. Immediately after the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, Sir

Thomas Cawarden, whom we have seen strongly suspected of an intention to support Wyatt, received a letter from the Council touching the recent muster of men fit for service and view of armour, saying "it is not a thing usual to have the bishoppes and clergie come to eny musters, and yet we well understand that they have of late tyme procured to their possession a greate quantitie of armor and weapons."¹ The Council required, therefore, a strict account of the armour of the clergy. It looks very like an apprehension on their part of a renewed "Pilgrimage of Grace." The deprived or resigning Bishops, however, were not, as a rule, inclined to rebellion, or even to perpetuating a schism. Nicholas Heath, ex-Chancellor, the deprived Archbishop of York, resided for nineteen years in Surrey, at Chobham, a loyal adviser in private of the Queen.

But the exertions of the Seminary priests and of the Jesuit Mission roused a certain opposition to Elizabeth's ecclesiastical policy in Surrey, as elsewhere. Recusants began to appear, but not in the same numbers or of the same importance as in the North. The families of the Fromondes of Cheam, John Monson, son of Sir William Monson, a deserter from the traditional politics of his Puritan family, the Catesbys of Lambeth, the Copleys of Leigh and Gatton, the Talbots and the Gages their relatives, were among the chief recusants of the county. In 1581 a return (Elizabeth, State Papers, Dom., clvi. 42) gave 65 recusants in Surrey among over 1,100 in England. These were men regularly compounding by payment instead of going to church. In 1586 a return was made to the Council (Elizabeth, State Papers, Dom., clxxxix. 48) of such recusants as remained in the county of Surrey, paying a regular composition for their lands. They were, Sir William Catesby of Lambeth, John Talbot of Mitcham, Francis Browne of Henley Park, Edward Bampster of Putney, the Lady Katherine Copley of Gatton, Thomas Pounce of Kennington, and some others not actually resident. Others are returned as dead or gone

¹ Loseley manuscripts, December 31, 1558.

out of the country. The zealous Deputy-Lieutenant, Sir William More, was constantly receiving information of the recusancy of farmers, tradesmen and ladies. He kept in his house for a long time the Earl of Southampton, a recusant, and could not induce his prisoner to attend the family prayers.¹

The famous controversialist Nicholas Sander, or Sanders, was a Surrey man, of a gentleman's family settled at Charlwood, and connected by marriage with other recusant houses. He was a man of undoubted ability, who in happier times might have played a considerable part in his native Church and country. He was a scholar of Winchester and Fellow of New College, Oxford. In 1559 he went abroad, and was at once regarded as one of the greater lights among the English exiles. In 1571 he published "*De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiæ*," defending the Papal position. His better-known work, "*De Origine et Progressu Schismatis Anglicani*," was left unfinished at his death. The story of Henry VIII.'s breach with Rome had plenty of scandalous details connected with it, and the lives of too many supporters of the Reformation, like Poynt, for instance, did not bear investigation. But Sanders, without probably conscious invention, heaped together every scandal and every disgraceful incident which he could collect. His work remained, perhaps yet remains, the basis of foreign Catholic opinion about the English Reformation, with the true historical development of the national policy left out of sight, or obscured by personal details. Yet the suppres-

¹ These lists of 1581 and 1586 do not represent all who differed from the ecclesiastical policy of the Government. In the Loseley manuscripts, under date 1587, there is a list of eighteen names of recusants in Surrey outlawed for non-appearance, of thirty-three "not yet convicted," fifty-four conformed, discharged, or in prison. The lists represent those who, having property, made a regular composition for non-attendance at church. What this might mean we see in the case of Sir William Catesby, who, with an estate of £500 a year, paid £100 a year to escape prosecution. How many went to church often enough to escape prosecution, but regretted the extent of the changes made, is unknowable. They were likely enough the majority of the population, even in Surrey, in the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign.

sions and the fictions of writers on the other side, like Foxe and Burnet, have given him credit. It is certain that he was a man of great powers, and the exiles resented his employment by the Papacy upon the desperate enterprise to Ireland in which he perished. Sanders, they said, is more to us than is the whole of Ireland! He was sent in 1579, with a Legatine Commission, to accompany the Spaniards and Italians who landed in Kerry to support the rebellion of the Earl of Desmond. He escaped the massacre of his companions, who were all put to the sword as filibusters, but only to wander in misery among the Irish, lurking in bogs and mountains, in constant peril of capture, till he died of starvation or disease in 1581.

Thomas Copley, of Leigh Place near Reigate, a distant connexion of Sanders, was perhaps the most notable Surrey recusant next to him. He is an example of a man who certainly was not inclined to be a traitor, but who was prompted by genuine religious scruples. He sat for Gatton, the family borough, in the Parliaments of Mary's reign, and got into trouble by incautiously expressing his fears lest the Queen should tamper with the lawful succession as arranged under her father's will. He was second cousin once removed to Queen Elizabeth, through the marriage of Anne Copley with Sir Geoffrey Boleyn, the Queen's great-grandfather.¹ Elizabeth was godmother to his eldest son in 1560, and he sat for Gatton in the Parliaments of 1559 and 1563. Soon after the latter date, however, the Council of Trent having ended its labours and made certain a lasting breach between Rome and England, he began to entertain religious scruples. According to Father Parsons, the Jesuit, he had read and failed to agree with Bishop Jewell's "*Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*." He must have taken the oaths before, in the first Parliament of Elizabeth, but he now developed scruples, which he laid before the Sheriff and Justices of Surrey, in 1569, in a curious theological letter sprinkled with scraps of

¹ It has been said that he was a Protestant under Queen Mary. There is no evidence that he was anything of the kind. He supported the succession of his cousin according to Henry's will.

the Vulgate, which he besought them as his neighbours to lay before the Lords of the Council. The Lords naturally declined a theological argument, and committed Copley to prison, but he was shortly released, and retired to the Netherlands in 1570. In 1574 it was reported in England that Philip had created Copley Baron of Gatton and of Roughey, and Master of the Maze, the manor of that name in Southwark; and that he further had received letters of marque from the Governor of the Low Countries empowering him to act against pirates on those coasts—that is, against the Dutch adventurers. The unfortunate exile, who seems to have relied much upon his powers of letter-writing and his Latin, addressed a long excuse to “My Most Gracious Queen and My Most Dear Sovereign,” explaining that he was acting in the matter of the letters of marque in the interests of the Queen’s ally: “I had daily so many credible reports of your Majesty’s most faithful loving and sincere amitie towards the King Catholic”; and as for the titles, he could not persuade the Spaniards that he was a gentleman unless he called himself “nobilis,” and he was bold to set himself down, “Dominus de Gatton, Roughey, etc.,” because it was not the custom of any but “a very obscure person or a very simple hidalgo” to leave out the names of his lordships. *Generosus* he did not think good classical Latin for a gentleman; “it might pass in the gross Latin current in Westminster Hall.” Nor was *armiger* good enough, and he appealed to the Queen’s well-known scholarship to justify him in his contention that it meant a sword-bearer, and might be construed as page. Copley appears to have been in the way of having greatness thrust upon him; for he afterwards went to Paris, and by his own account, in another letter to England, after he had been in Paris three days, he found that Henry III. was not to be restrained from offering him some honour, so he accepted “a simple knighthood,” and the title of Baron.¹

¹ For a good account of Sir Thomas Copley, see a paper by Mr. Watney, “Leigh Place and its Owners,” in the “Surrey Archæological Society’s Collections,” vol. xi.

In fact, Sir Thomas Copley, as he became, seems, without being an active plotter against the Queen, to have been considered a person of possible importance by the foreign Courts which sheltered and used English exiles for their own ends. His story possesses some interest from the illustration which it affords of the fortunes of a recusant family. He died in Flanders in 1584. His land was not confiscated, as probably would have been the case had he survived till the outbreak of the war with Spain. His will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and his wife returned to England and lived on his estates. But almost immediately she was arrested, along with her daughter, on the charge of harbouring a priest. In 1586 Sir Francis Walsingham, then knight of the shire, wrote to his colleague, Sir William More, and to other influential gentlemen of the county, to say that the Lords of the Council understood that Mrs. Copley—her husband's knight-hood was not recognised—had the nomination of two burgesses for the borough of Gatton, and that, as she was a notoriously disaffected person, it was not convenient that she should be allowed any voice in the nomination. They were requested, therefore, to take care that two persons "well affected towards religion and the State" should be returned. Political influence was naturally denied to a recusant, but the incident is instructive as an example of the dealing with elections by the Council. William Copley, the eldest surviving son of Thomas, came also into England. He was not more than twenty, but was arrested at once. He was committed to the temporary custody of a London Alderman, who reported that he was tractable, and not unlikely to take the oaths. However, on being set at liberty he escaped to the Netherlands, and thence to Spain, where he married the daughter of another exile. He returned after the death of Elizabeth, paid a composition of £2,000 for his estates, and settled down as a recognised recusant, paying the monthly fine of £20.¹ There were very few

¹ In 1603 the fines were remitted. In 1604 they were reimposed on the

gentlemen's families to whom a tax of £240 a year did not mean gradual but steady loss of fortune.

Of the other sons of Sir Thomas who survived, one, Antony, studied law in London as a youth, but entered the Spanish service for a time, then ventured to return to England, was naturally imprisoned, but regained his liberty and resided at Roughey in Sussex. He had the family taste for writing, and wrote for the Seculars against the Jesuits in the controversy which agitated the recusants of the time. He was also among the minor poets of the day; but the republication of his "*Figge for Fortune*," by the Spenser Society, in 1888, has done his memory as a poet no great service. He was a turbulent fellow, and was accused of "shooting a gentleman and killing an ox with a musket," and of throwing a dagger at the Vicar of Horsham in church. In 1603 he became involved in Watson's preposterous plot for seizing the King, and extorting toleration from him while recognising his rule and respecting his person. Antony Copley may not have been a prudent man, but he had doubts about the scheme, and asked the advice of his sister, Mrs. Gage, and of the Archpriest Blackwell, who was supposed to exercise a general supervision over English Catholics. Mrs. Gage and Blackwell informed the Jesuits, and they laid the information before the King, out of jealousy of the secular priests. The plot was mixed up with another, in which the name of the Lady Arabella Stewart was mentioned as possible Queen, and the whole futile intrigue is rescued from oblivion from the eminence of the men whom it involved in ruin, Sir Walter Raleigh among others. Copley made a complete confession—after it was all found out, apparently. The Government was not severe, all things considered, and Copley, after condemnation to death, was only required to leave the kingdom. He died abroad.

The third brother, John Copley, had a different career.

wealthier Catholics, and after the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 rigorously exacted.

He was ordained a priest abroad, but came over to the English Church in 1611. He possessed, apparently, his father's gifts of theological argument, and published his reasons for the change, showing that, unlike his father, he agreed with Bishop Jewell. He became a High Church parson in Kent, quarrelled violently with his Puritan squire, was deprived by the Long Parliament, but lived to be restored to his living after the Restoration, and died at the age of eighty-five a beneficed clergyman. The family property was divided among heiresses, and much of it sold, bit by bit, for reasons which are apparent. So the recusant Sanders family were selling their land in Charlwood, bit by bit, about the same time.

The record of the Copleys is interesting as an illustration of the fortunes of a recusant family, and is typical, in fact, of those of many such, exile, plots, swift or gradual ruin, or ultimate conformity, being their lot. And if conformity was the end, they went to reinforce the anti-Puritan side of the English Church.

Gentlemen like the Copleys had to conform or be ruined. Noblemen had freedom of opinion. Sir Antony Browne, Viscount Montague, a great man and land-owner in Surrey, was a Romanist, and had the courage to vote in the House of Lords against the abolition of Papal supremacy. He, notwithstanding, kept his credit with the Queen, and did not find it incompatible with his principles to sit as one of the judges of the Queen of Scots.

In reckoning distinguished Surrey men who belonged to this party, the name of Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral, is often added. That Elizabeth should grant the command of her fleet to a Romanist is taken as the crowning proof of her confidence and their loyalty. But, though the story is familiar, the Romanism of the Admiral is a fiction. Lord William Howard, uncle to Anne Boleyn, had received a grant of Reigate Priory at the dissolution, and of other lands in Surrey. He was created Lord Howard of Effingham by Mary, and was in her Council. He and

his son Charles conformed to the worship directed by Government, as nine-tenths of the country did, and went to church equally under Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth. Charles Howard, first cousin to Elizabeth's mother, was continuously employed by that Queen. He was in succession M.P. for Surrey, Privy Councillor, Knight of the Garter, Lord Lieutenant of Surrey and Sussex, and Lord High Admiral, and as such had, of course, to take the oath of supremacy. He sat on the Commissions for the trials of the Babington Plot conspirators, of Mary Stewart, of the Gunpowder Plot conspirators, and of Father Garnett, S.J., and on one for discovering and expelling priests under James I. He accepted grants of the confiscated property of Catholic recusants and conspirators, as of the Gages of Haling. Even Romanist sympathies are impossible to such a man, much more profession. He was a Surrey man by property and residence, the most eminent Surrey man, too, of his age. He died in 1624, in his eighty-ninth year, at Haling House in Surrey, and was buried in Reigate Church.

The mention of Lord Howard of Effingham naturally leads us to the part played by Surrey in preparations to withstand the Spanish invasion of 1588, when it is clear that the county levies were to be depended upon, as they were selected to furnish part of the force which attended upon the Queen's person. It is significant that this force was made up of troops from the South-east, where recusancy was not so strong as in the North and West. The musters of Surrey in 1574-75 had shown 6,000 able men, 1,800 armed men—that is, men able to provide themselves with offensive and defensive arms—and 96 demi-lances, or well-armed cavalry.¹ Of the armed men, those of any substance were expected to appear or to provide a substitute as light horsemen. The "able men" were equipped as musketeers, archers,

¹ It is curious how near the number of demi-lances comes to the probable number of knights' fees, eighty-six, which we computed above. The county put nearly as many heavy-armed horse in the field in the thirteenth as in the sixteenth century.

pike or bill men. When the invasion appeared imminent, 4,000 men was the original quota of infantry demanded from Surrey. But the numbers were afterwards reduced to 2,000 on a footing for active service—shot, 400; bows, 600; bills, 600; pikes, 400. The lesser number was apparently accepted, not for deficiency of men, but for want of arms and stores. Archery was not what it had been, yet bows were comparatively easily provided for those who could use them. So the officers of the county had to tell the Government that they could not send all the men required unless the proportion of firearms were cut down and archers substituted. They had raised and armed 1,500 men, but could not send 1,800 unless the 300 men were all bowmen. Archery and musketry alike came from the peasantry. Cavalry was the land-owner's service, of himself and servants. On July 9, 1588, the government of the county was moving the gentlemen to increase their proportion of armour and horses. The clergy were expected to contribute among others, but the Bishop of Winchester wrote to Sir William More, Deputy-Lieutenant, that he was unable to provide horsemen. Warnings and notices of preparation are more and more frequent, as it appeared in 1588 that the danger was at last actually imminent.

On July 23, 1588 (old style), the whole force of the county was directed to hold itself in readiness to march on the firing of the beacons; and 8 lances, or heavy cavalry with attendants, 99 light horsemen and 1,000 foot were called at once to the army of the Earl of Leicester in Essex, the horse to Brentwood, the foot to Stratford. On July 19 the Armada had been seen off the coast of Cornwall, and these orders had been issued from the Court at Richmond in full knowledge that the decisive moment was at hand. But it would seem from the language of the order that the inland beacons had not been fired, and it does not appear that they ever were. The fire-signal was probably reserved for a sign of the actually attempted landing of the enemy. The direction from which it came would indicate whether the Spanish

army had been thrown ashore upon the Southern or the Eastern coast. The order from the Council is precise, that the marching of all the forces was to wait for the firing of the beacons, and the date is after the date of the arrival of the Spanish fleet in English seas. It is clear, then, that Leith Hill, Hindhead, Betchworth Clump, and the other conspicuous points of Surrey did not blaze, as Macaulay's magnificent ballad would have us believe that they did, and as this generation has twice seen them blazing on happier, peaceful occasions in 1887 and 1897.¹

On July 28, when the Spanish fleet was lying in Calais Roads, having got so far, to the great discouragement of the Court, on the day before the night of terror when the fire-ships were sent among them and the decisive action began, the Surrey authorities were called upon for more men. There was "much grief conceyved in the court that my Lord Admirall hath suffered them to passe on so farre." So Surrey was commanded to despatch 500 footmen to join the army which was forming—it was never completely formed—to protect the Queen's person. This army was to be in reserve under Lord Hunsdon, while that of Leicester was intended to act upon the coast. It is fortunate that a general like the Prince of Parma, with his unequalled soldiers, never came face to face with the two separate bodies of valiant militiamen under such generals as these.

On August 2 the whole muster of Surrey was at last called out. The Council sent orders for the assembling of

¹ The only firing of the beacons in Elizabeth's reign seems to have been in December, 1579. We were not actually at war. A Spanish fleet was assembled, in reality for the conquest of Portugal, but it was feared that it might be coming to England. Some men made a fire on a hill near Portsmouth to smoke out a badger, and the light was mistaken for a beacon, and caused others to be fired. Troops were actually set on foot in Surrey, and on December 28 Walsingham wrote to Sir William More to explain the mistake (Loseley manuscripts, December 28, 1579).

Besides fire-beacons, some sort of telegraphic signals were perhaps placed upon the higher hills, as in later years. A seventeenth-century picture of Wotton House, preserved in Abbot's Hospital, Guildford, shows what seems meant for Leith Hill in the distance, with a semaphore upon it.

836 footmen at Godstone, the same number at Reigate, the same at Dorking, and at Croydon 2,500 foot and 120 horse. In addition to the men already despatched to the two armies, this makes a total of more than 6,700 troops. It is doubtful if so many existed. From what we have seen already, it is impossible to suppose that they can have been all really armed or equipped for war, much less trained. Neither can they have had a sufficiency of trained officers. In the Civil Wars the want of trained officers was a difficulty, and yet the German wars, then of twenty years' standing, had made the supply of experienced officers far greater than it could have been in 1588. These men, too, were to be supplied with "sufficient victuals." Here probably was another difficulty. The 500 men destined for the Queen's army were shortly advertised that, owing to commissariat deficiencies, they were to return to their own county, it being impossible to feed so many men as were collected near London. But by this time, August 8, the Spanish fleet was scattered far up the coasts of England and Scotland and about the North Sea. It is a significant instance of the blessedness of inhabiting an island that the men of Surrey were never again mustered in serious anticipation of a really possible invasion for over 200 years.

Yet the alarm of the country was only gradually laid aside. On August 12, when the Spanish fleet was no longer "a fleet in being," the Bishop of Winchester wrote to Sir William More at Loseley to inquire the truth of rumours, "dismal and depressing," of the English fleet having sought safety in harbour. On the 24th the Earl of Leicester wrote to the Lord Lieutenant to keep the Surrey forces in instant readiness for Her Majesty's service. The Lord Lieutenant was himself then at the head of the fleet at sea. Leicester was ten days from his death-bed. He died on September 4. The most momentous year for England since 1066 passed away. The levies were mostly disbanded, and the Council told the Deputy-Lieutenants of Surrey to press the wealthier inhabitants to raise at once the balance

of a loan, demanded under Privy Seals, wherewith to pay for their assembling.¹

By 1595 fear of invasion had been so far laid aside that on November 5 the Lord Lieutenant wrote to his Deputy-Lieutenants for the discharging, till further notice, of "the watches of all beacons in the shire," a service that was "verie chargeable" to the inhabitants. The war was carried on with vigour abroad, however. In 1596 Surrey contributed 500 men for the great expedition to Cadiz, under Lord Howard of Effingham and the Earl of Essex. Fifty men were also contributed by the county towards the garrison of Flushing, one of the cautionary towns in Zealand held by Elizabeth. One hundred men were levied for the defence of Boulogne later in the year. The Spaniards had taken Calais from Henri IV., who had prudently declined to admit an English garrison for its defence, and were thought to be intending to push their conquests along the coast in a way which threatened English interests. An alarm of invasion, in fact, began again to spread. On October 31, 1596, the Council directed the Lord Lieutenant to prepare 3,000 men from Surrey to be at the disposition of the Lieutenants of Kent and Southampton, to protect the coasts, and to provide also for the continuance or the renewal of the watching of beacons in Surrey. The horses and armour of the recusants were also to be seized—it is a wonder that they had any left to be taken—the armour to be stored in convenient places, the horses to be kept for the public service at the owners' charges. It certainly was not the fault of the Government that all recusants were not traitors.

In 1597 the vagabonds of the Surrey heaths and woods appear again as soldiers. On July 18 Sir William More was ordered to see to the equipment of fifty "masterless men," who were to be sent from Surrey to Bridewell, and then shipped from Bridewell for service in Picardy. In

¹ See for Armada levies Elizabeth, State Papers, and Loseley manuscripts, *passim*, *sub anno* 1588.

1598, December 22, the Council had come to the conclusion that respectable men made better soldiers. One hundred "able and choice men, not vagrants of the baser sort," were to be raised in Surrey to reinforce the garrisons in the Low Countries, whence men had been withdrawn to Ireland.

The invasion alarm became most acute in 1598 and 1599, and then subsided. In 1599 the Spaniards, who had made peace with France and were supposed thereby to be more free to act against England and the Netherlands, were thought to be really coming. On August 10 the Lord Lieutenant, who had become now Earl of Nottingham, and was appointed Captain-General by land and sea in view of the expected crisis, wrote to his Deputy-Lieutenants in Surrey to send all the forces of the county to Southwark, "as the enemyes approche nere unto this coast." By August 26 they were sent back to their homes, the alarm having turned out to be false, but they were directed to be ready at a day's notice. It was in this summer, while the country was ringing with warlike preparations, that the new theatre on the Surrey side, the Globe, saw the first presentation of the great warlike epic play "Henry V." Men of the Surrey levies, expecting to be called upon any day to fight for home and freedom, must have applauded to the echo the glorious choric speeches recalling "the dreadful note of preparation," and have felt their blood thrill at the thought of emulating on their own soil the glories of Agincourt.

But after 1599 the anticipation of invasion died away. Levies of soldiers in Surrey are less frequent and numerous, and are mostly destined for Ireland. Concerning one of these Irish levies, January 14, 1599, we learn the significant detail that there were no archers among them. Sixty-five per cent. were to be armed with muskets or "callivers," a lighter fire-arm, twenty per cent. were to be pikemen, ten per cent. halberdiers, the remaining five presumably officers. All were to have good swords and daggers, "which for the most part have bin very badd and be no use in service." We know most of the details of these levies owing to the

fact that the Lord Lieutenant was also Lord High Admiral, and constantly engaged in other business, so that the orders of the Council were passed on to the Deputy-Lieutenants, Sir William and Sir George More, and have hence been preserved in the Loseley papers.

The bill for warlike preparations was of course heavy. Despite of Parliamentary subsidies, the Queen was obliged to request a loan of her subjects. On February 7, 1589, Walsingham wrote to Sir William More to bring pressure to bear on those who would fain avoid lending, and to return to the Council the names of those who presumed to refuse to advance the sums demanded of them. It was no great wonder that men were a little slow to lend. On March 11, 1595, the repayment of a loan, already postponed for six months, was postponed for six months more. On February 23, 1597, the repayment of the same, or another loan, was postponed for six months. On December 22, 1597, some persons were so unreasonable as to decline to lend, and Sir George More was ordered to interview them, and, if they still refused, to take "good bonds" from them for their appearance before the Council to answer "their obstinate refusall."

These were "men of good sufficiencie." One word more may be added of the Elizabethan treatment of the men of no substance in Surrey. Apparently drawing upon them for food for powder was not drastic enough treatment. On July 18, 1595, the Queen, understanding that there were "assemblies of base people in riotous sort" in London, Surrey and the neighbouring shires, appointed a Provost Marshal to execute the "most notorious and incorrigible offenders" by martial law. The Provost-Marshal was also empowered to arrest vagrants on the highway, to bring them before the Justices, and if they were found by the Justices to be "notoriously culpable in the unlawful manner of life," *i.e.*, vagabonds, to hang them off-hand.¹ The Petition of Right was not yet.

¹ Rymer, "*Fœdera*," xvi., p. 279.

There is an undated note, of the time of Elizabeth, in the Loseley manuscripts, of the sum paid to the Provost-Marshall and his men for the exercise of their functions in Surrey. The Marshal received ten shillings a day, his ten men two shillings a day each. In twelve weeks this reached £126, towards which thirty-two Justices of Surrey contributed twenty shillings each, about a quarter of the sum. Probably Middlesex, Essex and Kent, the other three counties next London, contributed the remaining three-quarters of this illegal payment. It is to be hoped that at least the Justices were saved some trouble by the summary proceedings.

There is a curious paper in the Loseley collection, belonging to the same reign, containing the copy of an order from the Council for the removing of cottages lately erected in the west part of the county of Surrey, more especially in the forest, and the re-erection of some of them in more suitable spots. It does not appear that the inhabitants were consulted as to whether the spots were more suitable for themselves. By an Act of Parliament in 1589, 31 Elizabeth, cap. 7, it was forbidden to erect cottages without 4 acres of ground attached to them, except in the case of cottages by the sea or a navigable river, for miners near a mine, or for keepers or foresters in a forest or chase. Some of these demolished Surrey cottages would seem to have been those of squatters on the wastes included in the Surrey bailiwick of Windsor Forest. The Act 35 Elizabeth, cap. 6, and the proclamation of 1602, against erecting new houses within three miles of London and Westminster, also affected Surrey, or were intended to do so, for Stowe says that they had little effect. The overflow of London into Surrey was part of the consequences of the success of the Elizabethan administration in restoring domestic confidence and foreign position to the country. The Government, we see, was continually fighting against the results of its own action. The country was growing richer and more enterprising, and more thickly inhabited, and the object of the Government, the maintenance of a social *status quo*, and the suppression

of all those who were so unhappy as not to fit into it, either by position or opinions, was absolutely unattainable in the long-run. But the examples which can be culled from Surrey records furnish by themselves an interesting picture of the whole spirit of Elizabethan rule.

We can hardly dismiss the subject without a brief mention of the men through whose positions these records of the administration of government in Surrey have been preserved. Sir Christopher More acquired Loseley by purchase in the reign of Henry VII. He was Remembrancer of the Court of Exchequer, Ulnager—that is, Examiner and Collector of Duties on Cloth—for Surrey and Sussex, a Verderer of Windsor Forest, and Justice of the Peace for Surrey. He died in 1549, when his county was on the verge of insurrection against the Regency, and was succeeded in all his local offices by his son William. Sir William More, twice Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, member of Parliament at one time for Guildford, at another knight of the shire, Deputy-Lieutenant under Lord Howard of Effingham, was practically Elizabeth's agent for the management of the county. He was also executor to Sir Thomas Cawarden, an official of Henry's and Edward's reigns, whence other official letters came into his hands.¹ Towards the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, George, his son, also knighted, was associated with his father as Deputy-Lieutenant, and succeeded to his position. Sir William died three years before the Queen. Sir George was Lieutenant of the Tower under King James, but was not then a man of so great an importance in local business as his father had been, nor as he had been himself formerly.

One other point of interest arises in his family affairs. Sir George More's daughter was living with her aunt, the

¹ Sir Thomas Cawarden of Blechingley, whom we have already come across in the Wyatt affair, was Master of the Revels. His old offices in Blackfriars were conveyed in 1595 by Sir William More to James Burbage for the building of the Blackfriars Theatre, and a messuage adjoining was conveyed in 1601 by Sir George More to Cuthbert and Richard, sons of James. Richard was, of course, the great actor, Shakespeare's friend.

wife of Lord Keeper Egerton, when she was clandestinely married in 1601 to Mr. John Donne, who was Secretary to the Lord Keeper then, but who was afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, and the once highly-thought-of poet. In those days obscure literary men could not with impunity make secret marriages with well-connected young ladies of sixteen, and Donne found himself in the Fleet Prison. But as it appeared that the marriage was canonically valid, Sir George made the best of a bad job, as he considered it, and ultimately received Donne as his son-in-law, and settled £800 upon his daughter.





CHAPTER XVII.

THE STEWART REIGNS, TO 1646.

THE reign of James I. was uneventful in Surrey. The King often stayed at Nonsuch, and attended horse-races on Epsom Downs. His favourite Archbishop, George Abbot, was a Surrey man. Though, as Archbishop, he was in the difficult place of being a Calvinistic ruler, in a Church among whose more learned clergy a strong anti-Calvinistic tendency was showing itself, and was not successful, yet he was personally respected. He deserved well of his native town, Guildford, by founding Abbot's Hospital, an asylum for the aged. In the previous reign Archbishop Whitgift had founded his hospital at Croydon. In the same reign Edward Alleyn, the player, founded his at Dulwich. The ravage of the dissolution was being in some measure repaired when new disturbances came upon the country. When the troubles of the Stewart reigns at last culminated in Civil War, no English county could be unaffected. Surrey lay outside of the greater military operations, though only just outside them when the war began. It is interesting to observe the local distribution of opinion which prevailed during that contest. Of course, all over England partisans of this party or of that were to be found. All over England the prevalent opinions were equally opposed to an over-riding of the laws by a royal despotism, and to an overturning of the ancient constitution in favour of any new-

fangled government. Men could not remain neutral, and they fell into line with the supporters of King or of Parliament for various reasons or prejudices. But among all the reasons which operated to decide upon which side men would be found, none was approaching in strength to the question of religion. The privileges of Parliament had not generally been supported, nor the prerogatives of the King assailed, on abstract grounds of political theory. But it had been feared that the power of the King, if uncontrolled, would have been employed to degrade the Calvinistic party in the Church; to encourage the Arminians; to relax the penal laws against the Romanists; perhaps to tolerate, perhaps even to establish, Roman Catholic worship; to enter into foreign alliances opposed to the Protestant powers on the Continent. Most of these fears were justified; one only was quite absurd. The King was no Romanist. But London was full of rumours of Popish plots; a war in defence of Scotch episcopacy brought the constitutional struggle to a head in England; an insurrection of Irish Catholics made a struggle for the power of the sword inevitable in England. On the other hand, the King's determination not to let the royal become a Parliamentary supremacy, nor to consent to the abolition of episcopacy in England, prevented any genuine compromise on his part. Those who were against admitting the rigid yoke of Calvinism in the Church, and had a horror of the opinions of the Sectaries, gave him a widely spread and intelligent support. The Romanists, of course, clung to his side in self-defence against a party pledged to their extirpation in all three kingdoms.

As various religious opinions therefore prevailed in various counties, the opposing sides were strong or the reverse. Protestant religious opinion had come into the country from abroad in the track of commerce. We have noticed how London, the Eastern counties, Kent and the Sussex coast had furnished the Marian martyrs. The more extreme opinions of the sects had crossed from Holland with traders,

refugees and returned soldiers from the Netherland and German wars, and had taken root in the same counties which had been the scene of Marian persecutions.

In the North the ecclesiastical changes under the Tudors had been forced upon a reluctant population by arms and executions. Under Elizabeth the Romanists had been most numerous in the Northern and Western counties. The South and East had been armed against the Armada. Parts of the North and Midlands had been called upon for no levies, or for only carefully selected men. In backward agricultural districts new opinions made naturally little way. The bulk of uninstructed people, perforce conforming to the only religious services available, had in these places been glad to see as much of the accustomed ritual preserved as possible, and clung obstinately to the ancient customs which the Puritans condemned. Consequently, in the backward North and West the King was strong; in the commercial South and East, the Parliament. There could be no doubt into which division Surrey would fall. It was too close to London, too much under the influence of the feelings prevalent there, not to rank upon the same side. There were, of course, Royalist gentry, clergy and peasantry, and townsmen, too—in Kingston, for instance—but it was one of the counties whose government was always in the hands of the Parliament.

Of the fourteen members elected to the Long Parliament for the county and boroughs of Surrey, twelve sat at Westminster during the Civil Wars. Two—Sir Robert Holborne, member for Southwark, and Sir Thomas Bludder, member for Reigate—joined the King, and sat in the Parliament at Oxford in 1644. This proportion of six to one may be compared with that of other counties, to illustrate the position taken by Surrey. Lincoln shows nearly the same, five to one members, in favour of the Parliament; Northumberland, five to one the other way, in favour of the King. All the members for London, Middlesex, Essex and Hertfordshire stayed at Westminster. All the members for eight

Welsh counties supported the King. In Sussex there were seventeen for the Parliament, eleven for the King; in Kent, fifteen for the Parliament, three for the King; in Hampshire it was fourteen to six; in Berkshire, ten to one. So by comparison with her neighbours, so far as this test goes, Surrey was less Parliamentary than the counties immediately north of the Thames; rather less Parliamentary than Berkshire; rather more so than Kent; not so Royalist as Sussex and Hampshire.

Another indication of opinion in the county may be gathered from the proceedings of the Committee for Plundered Ministers. Originally appointed to compensate Puritan incumbents who had been turned out or plundered in the parts of the country occupied by the King's armies, this Committee's powers were extended to turning out Royalist or malignant incumbents in the parts of the country under Parliamentary control. The opinions of a clergyman are not necessarily the opinions of his flock, but they are very often those of his patron, and so far as livings in Surrey were in the gift of noblemen or gentlemen of the county, the malignant priests would represent malignant land-owners. Other offences besides malignancy are alleged against several of them, but may be received with reservation. Neither side was careful about abusing its opponents. Drunkenness and swearing, or profanity, are the usual accusations if anything beyond malignancy is brought forward. That such vices were unknown is unlikely. But the frequenting of the village alehouse, which is often instanced, is not to be taken as meaning in the seventeenth century what it would mean in the nineteenth. The alehouse was the club, in fact, where the country gentlemen and farmers met to exchange news and gossip, and the parson would naturally often be found among them. Profanity, in one case at least—that of Mr. Hilliard of Ewell—consisted in speaking disdainfully of the extempore prayers and sermons of Puritan divines. We must remember, too, that the investigations of the Committee were not conducted after a period of lax

discipline, like the opening years of Elizabeth's reign or like the middle of the last century. The ecclesiastical courts had been specially busy, and had stirred up much disaffection by their severe handling of moral offences. The records of the greater part of the proceedings of the High Commission during the primacy of Laud have perished, but in the small part which remains we find, out of eleven incumbents deprived or suspended, three suffering for moral offences. It is unlikely that a great number of really disorderly-living parsons would have remained unmolested. Laud's Provincial Visitation, in 1637, finds little fault with the Diocese of Winchester, including Surrey, beyond a small increase of Romish recusants, and some little laxity in catechizing children on the part of three or four ministers.¹

Joined to the other accusations against malignant clergy, or often standing alone, we find such allegations as these against Antony Smith, Rector of Abinger: "That he hath expressed his disaffection to the Parliament and their proceedings by as well publicly in the exercise of his ministry and preaching that Schismatics and Heretics did raise an army against the King, and hath prayed that God would prosper him in all his undertakings, as in his private conference in saying that the Parliament have done no good," and so on. Mr. Smith had also withstood the taking down of a superstitious picture in Abinger Church and the removal of the altar rails, which had been ordered by an illegal resolution of the House of Commons, assuming for itself executive functions. Among other offences, moral and political, the curate of Capel, John Allen, was accused of having written a charm against the toothache. He was deprived, but not till 1645. Allen had been also accused of drinking, and so on; but he was, or had been, curate to a most respectable divine, Dr. Higham of Wotton, who would scarcely have employed a bad character. An unlooked-for difficulty arose in this case. The tithes of Capel had belonged to the priory at Reigate. The dissolution had

¹ Rymer, "*Fœdera*," xx., February 21, 1636-37.

put them in private hands, and the lay impropriator merely paid a stipend of £60 a year to the curate. Mr. Cooper, the impropriator of the time, was certainly an active supporter of the Parliament, but he was satisfied with the Rev. John Allen—perhaps he had been cured of the toothache—and declined to pay anything to his successor. A lawsuit resulted, but Mr. Cooper was apparently successful in maintaining that he only paid at pleasure, for, to secure an income for Allen's successor, £50 had to be granted out of the confiscated property of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester. Subsequently Capel was left without a resident parson, the children were baptized at Newdigate, the next parish, and there was no sermon on Sundays.

No sermon was a frequent cause of complaint against Royalist clergy. Dr. Nicholas Andrewes, a pluralist holding Godalming and St. Nicholas, Guildford, was objected to in Godalming in 1640 for many reasons, but among others that he refused to allow a lecturer, refused to preach at burials and baptisms, and when he did preach taught "strange doctrines," saying: "Fie upon the doctrine that the greatest part of the world shall be damned." He was deprived, imprisoned, and died of the hardships of imprisonment.

The complete list of sequestrations is as follows, in the preserved proceedings of the Committee: Abinger, Beddington, St. Mary Magdalen's Bermondsey, Betchworth, Byfleet, St. Giles' Camberwell, Camberwell School, Dulwich College Chapel, Capel, Charlwood, Chiddingfold, Chipstead, Cranleigh, East Clandon, Croydon, Ewhurst, Farnham, Godalming and St. Nicholas Guildford, Holy Trinity Guildford, Hedley, East Horsley—where the churchwardens and parishioners refused to give up the church or pay tithes to the new minister—West Horsley, Letherhed, Newington Butts, Nutfield, Okewood, Putney, Reigate, Richmond, St. George's Southwark, St. Olave's Southwark, Wisley, Woodmansterne. To these Walker, in "*The Sufferings of the Clergy*," adds: Barnes, Ewell, Mickleham, St. Thomas's Hospital—the curate of which said that "all who entered the service

of the Parliament were rogues and rascals"—Thorpe, Worplesden. The Rector of the last is the most distinguished of the deprived clergy of the county. He was Thomas Comber, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. Walker also adds Albury, but possibly under a mistake. The thirty-seven sequestered ministers represent rather more than one-fourth of the beneficed clergy of the county, a proportion not unlike that of the one to six Parliamentary representatives who were Royalist at the beginning of the war. The opinion was, as might be expected, a little more pronounced among the clergy.

Southwark and the neighbourhood shared the feelings of London. When the Short Parliament had been dissolved, in May, 1640, a violent mob, drawn chiefly from London, had assailed the house of Laud at Lambeth, calling him "the breaker of the Parliament." The Surrey train-bands were drawn out to keep the peace, but showed little sympathy with the authorities.

Kingston, on the other hand, was full of Royalist feeling. When war was becoming imminent, in January, 1642, news was brought to London that Colonel Lunsford and other officers and soldiers who had served in the King's army against the Scots had made a rendezvous at Kingston, that Lord Digby had gone to join or lead them, and that the men were swaggering about Kingston threatening some desperate enterprise. The county magazine was at Kingston, containing arms and ammunition for the militia, and it was feared that there was an intention to seize it, and provide supplies for a force which should occupy Portsmouth for the King. There were Cavaliers at Windsor and at Hampton Court, who were supposed to be assisting, and a waggon with stores had already, it was reported, arrived at Farnham from Windsor. Rumours were circulated, also, of the imminence of a vast Catholic rising, of which the Irish rebellion was only part. It is difficult to arrive at the exact truth of all this. A Catholic rising in England, where the actual recusants had dwindled to an insignificant minority,

was an absurdity. That the King would master Portsmouth if he could, and that men like Lunsford were capable of planning or executing any daring action, without scruples, was likely enough. The Sheriffs of Surrey and neighbouring counties were directed to take measures for the prevention of any design, by means of the train-bands, and the danger blew over. Lunsford allowed himself to be arrested, Digby left the country, and the agitation at and about Kingston subsided.

Kingston, it may be noticed, with its bridge, the next one above London Bridge, kept up its old importance as the central point of military operations in the county, in the Civil War time. Another place of importance was Farnham Castle, on the road from Winchester and Southampton to London.

The war broke out at last, with the raising of the royal standard at Nottingham, in August, 1642. The Parliament, taking the executive power into their own hands in self-defence, raised the train-bands, or militia, of the counties, under officers of their own appointing, wherever their influence extended, and Surrey obeyed them. The county levies were under the command of Sir Richard Onslow, one of the knights of the shire.

The minor incidents of civil war began at once in Surrey. On October 14, 1642, George Wither, the poet, who resided in Hampshire, not far from the borders of Surrey, and who had been put in command of forces raised for the Parliament in the latter county, was given a commission from the two Houses as Governor of Farnham Castle. The Bishop's palace was a solid building, standing high, and the old keep on the mound, encircled by the remains of its Norman wall, formed a sort of citadel. Wither, according to his own accounts, began to actively put the place in repair, to fortify it as best he could, to collect stores and to dig a well. The townsmen, all tenants or dependents of the Bishop, were desperate malignants, and the neighbourhood was unfriendly. There were, he said, not six gentlemen of Surrey in the four hundreds

adjacent to Farnham who were well affected to the Parliament. This was certainly an exaggeration. He was given to strong statements.

Wither had no artillery, only two newly-raised squadrons but half armed, a few irresolute volunteers whom he could not depend upon, about sixty muskets, some powder, matches and balls. He was persuaded, also, that Sir Richard Onslow, under whose orders he was acting, was not only jealous of him, but not to be depended upon in the cause—a quite groundless accusation. Wither was a poet who deserves more remembrance than has usually been his lot, but he was emphatically a self-conceited person, who believed that his own advice and personal assistance were essential to the well-being of the nation. If Farnham Castle was his charge, Farnham Castle was the most important garrison in the country. He chafed under Onslow's orders; he was in perpetual irritation at not receiving vast supplies of men and munitions, which neither Sir Richard nor anyone else had it in his power to send to him. The Royalists were in the neighbourhood, an attack appeared imminent, and he probably rightly judged that he could not resist it. What happened is obscure. In his pamphlet entitled "*Se Defendendo*"¹ he says that he was ordered to come to London with a troop of horse, leaving an officer in charge at Farnham. This was when the King's army was advancing upon London after the Battle of Edgehill. A general story against him was that he had run away and deserted his garrison; and in his second account, called "*Justitarius Justificatus*," published in 1646, he gives a different excuse. This pamphlet was directed against Sir Richard Onslow, who was endeavouring then to have Wither removed from the commission of the peace for Surrey. In it he writes that Sir Richard persuaded him to leave Farnham, on the ground that his appointment there was only temporary, and that he could do better service, with a more assured position, as captain of a troop of horse in the field. We may feel

¹ British Museum, King's Pamphlets, 147, 13.

pretty sure that if Wither could in 1646 have pointed to a distinct order from the Parliament which had given him his commission at Farnham, to abandon the castle, he would have done so, considering the injurious reports which were being circulated about his conduct. We can easily understand that Sir Richard Onslow, not sorry to shut the mouth of a troublesome subordinate, told him if he wanted help to go to London and ask for it.

Wither certainly did not go without the intention of returning. He got from the Parliament an order for a supply of culverins, or heavy guns, from the Tower. The next day, however, the advance of Rupert's horse into North Surrey caused the Parliament to rescind the order, for it was not feasible to get the train of artillery safely through the county. Wither asked leave to change the culverins for drakes, or light artillery, which he thought he might convoy safely through byways. He was refused leave, however, and told that the fortress must be evacuated. Then he, perhaps, really did distinguish himself by an act of daring and skill. Alone, on a swift horse—for none of his men or servants were well enough mounted to accompany him—he rode down to his own house, risking the encounter of Rupert's plunderers. There he impressed all the carts and horses he could find at once, took them to Farnham through the park, avoiding the Royalist town, and conveyed away safely all the men and what supplies there were in the castle.

On its being evacuated the Royalists took possession. Curiously enough, another poet was put in command. Sir John Denham had been pricked as High Sheriff of Surrey in 1642; he resided at Egham, and he was now made Governor for the King. Denham distinguished himself even less than Wither, though he only succumbed to an actual attack, not merely to the fear of one. Waller shortly appeared before the castle. Denham had only about 100 men, but his assailant had no artillery with him, and some sort of defence might have been possible. Waller, however, on December 1, 1642, blew in the gate with a petard, a sort

of iron extinguisher which was filled with powder and screwed on to a gate or wall which was to be destroyed. It is difficult to believe that an efficient use of musketry might not have made the fixing of a petard a very dangerous business for the enemy. Denham, when his gate was blown in, surrendered. He was sent a prisoner to London, but was soon released and went to Oxford. The laurels of "Cooper's Hill" were fresh upon his head: that fine poem came out in 1642; he wrote more, though never again so well, and he served the King in other capacities, but he defended no more fortresses. Neither poet was quite successful as commander of a garrison.

More serious affairs were in progress on the borders of Surrey at the end of 1642. The Battle of Edgehill had been fought with indecisive results on October 23. But the King was able after the battle to advance upon London, and his cavalry, under Prince Rupert, sweeping the country for subsistence, as was the practice in the foreign wars where Rupert and some other officers had been trained, spread terror all down the valley of the Thames. London was hastily defended with lines of earthworks. The army of the Earl of Essex lay in the western suburbs, with an advanced guard as far out as Brentford, Windsor Castle was held by a garrison, and Sir John Ramsay, a Scotch officer from the German wars, held Kingston with 3,000 men. Sir Richard Onslow, who had first occupied Kingston with Surrey train-bands, had found the attitude of the people so hostile that it had been thought wiser to replace him with men from other parts, who would not be so much influenced by the local spirit and by a professional commander. Kingston Bridge had not lost its old military importance. If the King held it, he could threaten London north of the Thames, or cross and march into Kent, where many of the gentry were for him.

From a narrative in the King's Pamphlets in the British Museum (83, 10)¹ we find that there was a collision between

¹ The reference is wrong in Manning and Bray, and in Brayley, and the story is misquoted in the latter.

the hostile forces in Surrey. It is told in one of the common class of pamphlets, or tracts, which were issued in the absence or scarcity of newspapers at the time, to spread the news of events. Like newspapers, these pamphlets were published in the interests of a party, and, from whichever side they come, are apt to exaggerate their friends' successes. According to this account, Rupert 6,000 strong—a certain mistake—had attacked Windsor—which he really did—and was beaten off with the loss of 240 men—a probable exaggeration. He then, we are told, came to Oatlands, in Surrey, and advanced on Friday, November 11, towards Kingston, where lay 3,500 Parliamentarians, including 300 horse. They drew out to meet him, and encountered him between Oatlands and Kingston, drawing up their infantry at the end of a lane between thick hedges 40 feet apart. Rupert first dispersed the opposing horse—we are not told where they were posted—and then charged down the lane and pushed the infantry hard. The professional soldiers began to wish themselves elsewhere, says the pamphleteer, but the train-bands stood firm, an assertion which betrays the source and the purpose of the tract, the encouragement of the latter by one of themselves. Some forty of the musketeers ran up behind the hedges on each side and fired upon Rupert's flanks, and some got into the lane in his rear. Whereupon he wheeled about and cut his way out, leaving 300 of his horsemen on the ground. He had also lost ten men in the first brush with the Parliamentary cavalry. The writer admits that there were very few prisoners taken. Of course, there were none to produce. The whole story is an evident exaggeration of some trifling affair of outposts. The beginning especially of every war teems with such exaggerations. Neither Rushworth nor Whitelocke report the skirmish at all, and the events of November 12 are not compatible with Rupert's having been badly beaten south of the river with the loss of 300 men on the 11th.¹

¹ The Journal of Prince Rupert's marches (Clarendon manuscripts xxviii., 129), published in the *English Historical Review*, October, 1898,

For it was not near Kingston that the great collision came. On the early morning of November 12 Rupert dashed upon Brentford, and, in spite of stubborn resistance and of reinforcements sent up by Essex, drove the Parliamentarians out of the town. On November 13 the King's army was confronting the Earl of Essex at Turnham Green. The idea of seizing London by a *coup-de-main* came to an end. Scared by the prospect of seeing Rupert's horsemen in the City, the train-bands had mustered in force, and 24,000 men were awaiting the King, whose whole force was not above 12,000, and who was weak in infantry and ill-supplied with ammunition, if Whitelocke's informants were trustworthy. The King indeed might be in great danger, for, besides a resolute enemy of twice his numbers in front, he had Sir John Ramsay's 3,000 men upon his rear or flank if he retreated.

Essex knew the theory of war, and proposed to direct Ramsay to cross Kingston Bridge and threaten the King's line of retreat, while another force turned his left, and the main army advanced in front. To the civilian members of Parliament nothing appeared more easy. But the professional soldiers overruled the scheme. The experienced officers hesitated to involve an unsteady, ill-disciplined infantry in an offensive movement which would expose them while manœuvring to a charge of Rupert's cavalry. So Ramsay's and the other turning force were recalled, and the King presently fell back. Ramsay could not be left unsupported in Kingston, and was directed to retire to Southwark. A bridge of boats was thrown across the Thames from Fulham to Putney, to afford a ready communication above London in case the King should advance through Surrey. The King occupied Kingston and its bridge, with the support of the inhabitants, and for a short time took up his abode in his own house at Oatlands. But if

shows that the Prince was at Oatlands on the 9th, Egham on the 10th, Brentford on the 12th. On the 11th he must have been preparing for the dash from Egham by Staines on Brentford.

he could not attack London, neither could he safely maintain himself so near to it. On November 27 Surrey was finally abandoned, and the King went to Reading and to Oxford. On December 1 Sir William Waller took Farnham, as we have described, whence he advanced to Winchester. He then secured West Sussex, taking Arundel and Chichester. On the day of the taking of the latter, December 29, he is said to have ordered the blowing up of part of the wall of the keep at Farnham. It remained, however, a garrisoned post in Parliamentary hands, the Royalists having no foothold left in Surrey or the neighbourhood.

The year 1643 marked the height of the success of the King. Newcastle in the North, and Hopton in the West, were continually victorious for him. He was far better provided with supplies than at the beginning of the war, and the militia, upon whom the Parliament were mainly dependent, began to show the usual distaste of a militia for prolonged campaigns. A plan of combined operations against the counties north and south of London by Newcastle and Hopton respectively, followed by an advance of the King himself along the Thames Valley upon London, had been propounded, probably by Ruthven, the old Scotch companion of Gustavus, now Earl of Forth and Commander-in-Chief under the King. According to this plan, Hopton, with his Western army, would have marched through Surrey or Sussex into Kent. It was abandoned partly because, in spite of improved resources, the King had scarcely the means for equipping three great armies for extensive operations, partly because the local spirit of his levies was too strong. The Welshmen and men of the Welsh marches were anxious to take Gloucester, the Cornishmen would not march east without taking Plymouth, and the Yorkshiremen wanted to besiege Hull. The three sieges all failed. The desperate fight at Newbury showed the mettle of the London train-bands; but the same soldiers who had fought at Newbury insisted on returning to their shops and labours afterwards.

Hopton, after all, found himself able to attempt something towards the South-East. Surrey had been completely organized for the Parliament. Five hundred dragoons had been raised in the county, in addition to the train-bands, early in the year, and an association for the defence of the Parliament had been formed of Kent, Sussex, Surrey and Hampshire, and Sir William Waller had been put at the head of their combined forces. His headquarters were at Farnham, and in November he advanced thence to attack Basing House in Hampshire, which lay on the main South-western road from London to Salisbury and beyond.

The issue was disheartening. The train-bands were unpaid, home-sick, and mutinous. The Londoners, ordered to assault, cried out "Home! home!" and deserted in a body. The siege was raised of necessity, and Waller fell back on the defensive at Farnham. The Royalists meanwhile recovered Winchester. Hopton himself invaded Sussex, and took Arundel Castle on December 9. Petersfield was occupied to keep up communications between Arundel and Winchester, and the Royalist outposts were pushed on to the soil of Surrey again. A few shots were exchanged with the garrison of Farnham, where Waller was erecting new defences, and the Royalist outposts and foraging parties appeared in the park.

A consequence of the nature of the Civil War was that whatever districts could be occupied by the troops of either side became in some ways a source of strength to that party and a corresponding loss to the other. Everywhere they would find some opponents from whom to raise contributions, and some friends who would voluntarily support them, or even join their forces. Had Hopton been able to penetrate further into Surrey and Sussex, a body of Royalist sympathizers would have been discovered, and so far untouched estates of Parliamentarians would have been at his disposal. But the hopes of such advantages tempted the leaders on both sides, as they were almost invariably in straits for money and supplies, to extend their lines too far,

and to try to occupy too much country. Hopton committed this fault, with the result that Waller, who, though no great genius, was a capable soldier, fell upon a detached force at Alton, under Lord Crawford, and entirely defeated it. Hopton, taught by experience, then abandoned Petersfield. Arundel was left isolated, and Waller attacked and took it in the last days of December and the beginning of January, 1644. The Royalists were thus again driven back from the borders of Surrey and Sussex.

A little later all hope of their advancing into these counties was destroyed. On March 29 Hopton and the Earl of Forth met Waller at Cheriton, near Alresford, in Hampshire, and after a very sharp action were forced to retreat. They fell back in good order, and lost no artillery; but their party was reduced to the defensive in the very quarter whence for a year they had been most seriously threatening the confidence of the Parliamentary party. Success for either party near London was worth twice as much as success elsewhere, from its moral effects upon wavering members of Parliament and the City.

But for all his victory, it still seemed as if Farnham was to be the limit of Waller's permanent conquests. He marched, after the fight at Cheriton, through Hampshire towards Dorsetshire, but his London regiments clamoured to go home. He was obliged to retrace his steps, and on April 12 was again at Farnham Castle. Yet again, in May, he marched out to co-operate with Essex in the Thames Valley against the King. The issue of the adventure was more disastrous to the Parliamentary side than any campaign yet undertaken by their main armies. It is beyond our present purpose to follow Essex in his march into the West, where he lost his army entirely. But it may be briefly explained how Waller came to find himself again on the soil of Surrey in September. The King had been hard pressed, and had actually left Oxford, as possibly unsafe, and fallen back towards Wales, when Essex and Waller separated. The King, returning, fought Waller at Cropredy

Bridge in Oxfordshire, and captured his artillery, though the results otherwise were not decisive. What was decisive was the temper of the soldiers. "I was extreme plagued," Waller writes, "with the mutinies of the City Brigade, who are grown to that height of disorder that I have no hope to retain them, being come to their old song of Home, Home." Five hundred men of one regiment quitted their colours. The Essex and Hertfordshire Militia were worse, if possible, not only deserting, but assaulting the Major-General who sought to restrain them. "Such men are only fit for a gallows here and a hell hereafter," declares the justly irritated commander.

He begged for more men, and more money to pay them, but neither were at once forthcoming. The unfortunate General fell back upon Abingdon, and then to his old quarters at Farnham, where, on September 2, he described himself as having only 1,400 men, and only three weeks' pay for these. No wonder that he, a professional soldier of some foreign experience, saw that a professional army, regularly paid, gave the only hope of success. It was Waller who first suggested the New Model Army. It does not appear that the Surrey contingent with Waller were found fault with for desertion and mutiny. The Committees of the Associated South-Eastern Counties succeeded in raising a few men for his army. Calling in his horse, who had been vainly despatched westward to try to save Essex from his fate, Waller was able to obey the orders of the Parliament sent on September 16, to take the field again. He again left Farnham, and went to Dorsetshire, returning to take part in the second battle of Newbury. The fear of invasion of Surrey was considered past, and the garrison was withdrawn from Farnham Castle and the works dismantled. The King's armies were overmatched, and no real danger was incurred by the abandonment of the bulwark of Surrey.

This was soon made manifest. On January 9, 1645, Goring, making a dash through Hampshire with some

Royalist cavalry, arrived at Farnham. But he could not safely rest so far from what were now the King's dominions, and he retreated again the next day. On January 13, the Committee of the Two Kingdoms ordered General Middleton to take what horse and foot there were at Guildford to Farnham. Steps were also taken to secure Sussex. Middleton perhaps never went to Farnham, for Goring had disappeared again before the order was issued, and gone away westward. Six months after this the New Model Army had, at Naseby, rendered the continuance in the field of the old Royalist party a mere waste of bloodshed.





CHAPTER XVIII.

SURREY IN 1648.

IT was easier to win a victory than to conclude a peace. England was not republican ; even the Parliament had not been consciously republican when fighting the King. The Scots were strongly monarchical. Most of England was not Presbyterian, yet the Parliament was committed to Presbyterianism by its terms of alliance with the Scots, while its own English army, full of Independents and other sectaries, was the very centre of anti-Presbyterian feeling, and of the coming republican tendency too.

In June, 1647, the army seized the King's person and refused to be disbanded, or to go on service in Ireland, unless their religious and political aims were satisfied, and their pay provided, in England. The Parliament tried to defy them, but had no material force to depend upon. The Scots had gone home. The army impeached eleven members of treason, and marched upon London. The Parliament gave way, allowed the eleven members leave of absence, and began to treat with the army. In July the army came to Colnbrook, Hounslow and Kingston, and was joined by the Speaker and certain Lords and Commons. London was fortified, but was indefensible against an army which could practically invest it and cut off supplies. Southwark intimated that it was ready to receive the soldiers. The forts on the south side of the Thames were

at Vauxhall near the river, at St. George's Fields and Blackman Street, covering the roads from Surrey, and at Kent Street, on the road from Kent, all connected by lines of entrenchment. Colonel Rainsborough, who had been quartered at Kingston, marched in at two o'clock in the morning of August 4 without opposition, and took possession of them. The portcullis was down at the gatehouse of London Bridge, but two pieces of artillery planted opposite to it were a sufficient inducement to those within to open a passage, and the bridge was occupied. Gravesend and Tilbury had been taken before, so that London was fairly invested by the occupation of its main line of supply, the Thames, and on August 6 it was fully in the power of the army.

The rest of the year was spent in fruitless negotiations between the army, the Parliament and the King, and between the King and the Scots. Putney, where the headquarters were for a time, was something like the Downing Street of the day, the very centre of political consultation, till in 1648 the Committee of Derby House, an Independent Council in reality, became the real Government of the country.

It is necessary to look at the condition of parties before we can understand the events in Surrey in 1648. Charles was quite untrustworthy, and had as usual several schemes in view, without caring for, or perhaps quite understanding, their mutual incompatibility. It was impossible to satisfy both the sects, who wanted partial religious toleration, and the Scots and English Presbyterians, who thought any toleration of anything except Calvinism wicked. If those who had supported the King in the late war might have led the country into grievous difficulties if they had succeeded, it was abundantly clear that those who had opposed the King had led it into actual difficulties which could scarcely be surpassed. Taxation was very heavy, business was very bad; the country was burdened by a standing army, large for the time, of which there seemed no chance of being rid.

The old constitution had really ceased to exist ; the old laws were practically in abeyance as regarded many people and many places. Of course, the beaten side reaped the advantage of a change of sympathies. The voice of the majority of the people was unmistakably raised for a peace, the return of the King to London as a constitutional King, the disbanding of the army, the restoration of the old laws. The alliance was struck between Scots, Presbyterians, old Royalists and moderate people, which was destined twelve years later to lead to the Restoration of King and Parliament, the old constitution with the new safeguards of 1641 added. But in 1648 the personal mistakes of Charles, and the attitude of the army—well led, well disciplined, and animated by a strong professional and a strong religious and political spirit—rendered such success impossible.

Thus it happened that Surrey, a secure Parliamentary stronghold in the earlier war, became the scene of a Royalist rising in 1648. It was the same elsewhere. Places and men which had been against the old Royalist party were the support of the new. Surrey shared the feelings of the City, and the City was plying Parliament continually with petitions for the return of the King and the disbanding of the army.

On May 8, 1648, there was a great meeting of the inhabitants of Surrey at Dorking, to prepare a petition to the Parliament. The whole country was in an uproar. Royalists and Presbyterians had already risen, and already been beaten in South Wales. There were movements or rumours of plots in half the counties ; London was riotous. A Scotch army was coming some time or other. In this state of things the Surrey petitioners, having printed and circulated their petition, came to London on May 16. They met on Putney Heath some hundreds strong, horse and foot, gentlemen, freeholders, and no doubt a rabble following. They marched through the City by permission of the Corporation, their hats decked with green and white ribands, playing on trumpets, pipes and fiddles, and shouting, " God and King

Charles! Hey for King Charles!" No doubt they were very noisy and tumultuous, and a shower as they came near Charing Cross, driving them for shelter into the alehouses, would not mend matters.

The petition ran briefly: "That the King may be restored to his due Honour and just Rights, according to the oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, that he may be forthwith established in his Throne, according to the Splendour of his Ancestors.

"That he may for the present come to Westminster with Honour and Safety, to treat personally for composing of Differences.

"That the free-born Subjects of England may be governed by the known Laws and Statutes.

"That the War beginning may be prevented.

"That the Ordinance for preventing Free Quarter may be duly executed, and speed made in disbanding all Armies, having their Arrears due paid them."¹

The objects were excellent and certainly widely desired, but with personal and party passions, and all the evil legacies of a civil war to be dealt with, to satisfy these desires was a hard matter.

Neither was the method of presenting the petition, with a crowd of countrymen accompanying it, judicious. The Surrey yeomen, after refreshing themselves at the alehouses, came into Westminster Hall, and began to exchange taunts with the soldiers on guard, Baxter's regiment. In Whitelocke's words: "They fell a-quarrelling with the guards, and asked them why they stood there to guard a company of rogues. Then, words on both sides increasing, the countrymen fell upon the guards, and disarmed them, killed one of them, and wounded divers. On this alarm more soldiers were sent for from Whitehall and the Mews, who fell upon the countrymen, and killed five or six of them and wounded very many, chasing them up and down through the

¹ Whitelocke, "Memorials of English Affairs," 1648.

Hall, and the Lanes and Passages thereabouts." In the words of a person on the spot, "They had dispute and ill language" with the soldiers, who "forbore till one of their men was slain by a Surrey Broom-man or Miller, but then they cleared the Hall, and made the simple men know that a Soldier's sword cuts deeper than an ill-word." Rushworth says that they disarmed two or three of the guards and killed one before one of the petitioners was hurt. They were no doubt disorderly, but it is hard to imagine soldiers of the New Model suffering themselves to be disarmed and killed without resistance, or the countrymen attempting it on no provocation. The evidence above given is all from one side. On May 18 the petitioners published at Guildford their version of the riot. They admitted that many Royalists had joined them, and used provocation to the soldiers, which they disliked, as they did also the violence of the soldiers. They said that they would present no more petitions, though they had a right to petition the Parliament, but would invite the people of the county to unite in an engagement to bring in the King, but not without conditions. They desired that it should not be in the power of either King or Parliament or army to oppress and ruin the people at their pleasure, either by committees or taxes or free quarters. They also recommended that a period should be put to the present Parliament. There was reason in this. Parliament had been elected nearly eight years before, in perfectly different circumstances, had been shorn of many of its members, but was indissoluble without its own consent, and had no intention of allowing a free expression of popular opinion in new elections. Of course its members considered themselves indispensable for the safety of the country and religion. Unfortunately, both King and army thought just the same of themselves. On May 22 some of the Surrey gentlemen remonstrated with the General, begging him to give orders that for the future no affront should be offered to the countrymen by the soldiers, and grieving "that so much

Injury was offered to their Petitioners, and so much Christian blood of their country shed.”¹

A day later than the remonstrance of the Surrey gentlemen civil war had fairly begun again in England. On May 23 the rising in Kent occurred, and six ships of the fleet hoisted the royal standard. South Wales was not yet subdued. North Wales was up, and Cornwall, Yorkshire, Northumberland and Cumberland followed. Pontefract, Berwick and Carlisle were held for the King, and scarcely a shire could be reckoned upon as really safe for the Parliament. Nor was Parliament itself quite steady. A reverse to the army might mean a majority in the Houses for an accommodation on the King's terms. But on June 1 Fairfax broke the neck of the Kentish rising at Maidstone. The remains of the Kentish Royalists crossed the Thames, found or raised supporters in formerly Parliamentary Essex, and shut themselves up in Colchester, where Fairfax had to besiege them in due form.

When the bulk of the regular forces and the militia they could still rely upon were engaged in Essex, in the North or in the West, a general rising was planned, to begin in Surrey and to win over London as a first step. The chief management was in the hands of the Earl of Holland. This nobleman had been originally on the Parliamentary side, had then tried to make his peace with the King, had been ill-received by him, and had returned to the Parliament. He was looked upon as one of the supporters of the Presbyterian interest. He was a scheming, untrustworthy man, of more reputation than he deserved, and a favourite of the Queen's, which was not to his advantage. It shows the uncertainty and want of authority prevailing in London, that his house was allowed to become a rendezvous for Royalist soldiers

¹ John Evelyn, who was in England at the time, and in Surrey, says in his diary: "Some of them (the petitioners) were slain and murdered by Cromwell's guards in the New Palace Yard." He says nothing of provocation. But Cromwell was not even Commander-in-Chief in 1648, and was in Wales at this time. Is it possible that Evelyn's entry in his diary is not really contemporaneous?

and others engaged, who came and went freely. Horses were bought and sent into the country, and a Dutch officer, Dulbier, who had drilled men impartially for the King and for the Parliament before, was engaged to give Holland the benefit of military advice.

Whitelocke gives us an interesting account of an interview, in which Holland tried to induce him, as a moderate man, to share in the enterprise. Whitelocke was a Commissioner of the Great Seal, appointed by Parliament, a steady supporter of their side so far, but a strong believer in the necessity of preserving the old laws, if possible. "His Lordship was pleased to inveigh against some proceedings of the Parliament, especially in their backwardness to a personal treaty; upon which he said, and truly, that generally people's hearts were set, and that he did believe, if a considerable party should show themselves in arms for it, that they would soon rise to a great body, and be able to bring the Parliament to reason." Whitelocke differed from him, and told him "that the Parliament's Army was in a framed body of old soldiers, prosperous in their actions, and well provided of all things necessary; and that it would be a rash and desperate attempt for any to imagine to make a head against them, and to raise a new body. . . . That there was no trust to be given to people's minds or promises in such design, who would not stir except they saw the tide turning, and some precedent success, which could not be in this case; but those who should adventure upon such a business would certainly be lost in it."¹

Whitelocke was, of course, right in his estimate of public opinion and public action. People would wish the enterprise well, but as they wished first for peace and quiet, few would seek such an end through armed insurrection, and if they did they would not beat the regular soldiers. But the Earl was too deeply committed to Scots, Presbyterians and Royalists to draw back.

The plans of Holland and his friends were prepared so

¹ "Memorials of English Affairs," 1648.

openly that the Derby House Committee could not be ignorant of something being intended, even if they were not minutely informed of everything by spies. He was issuing commissions, enlisting men, buying horses, and laying plans for seizing Windsor, Winchester and Farnham Castles.

A race-meeting was to be the pretext for the first gathering, and Banstead Downs the place. The name included our Epsom Downs.

But the projected meeting was frustrated. The Derby House Committee, casting about for support, issued orders to Sir Michael Livesey, who commanded some Kentish troops, horse and foot, and Major Gibbons, who had with him part of Colonel Riche's cavalry in Kent, and who were both marching from Kent towards Horsham, to check a movement there, to halt at Sevenoaks, ready for an emergency. This was on July 2. At the same time Captain Pretty, with a troop of Ireton's cavalry from Windsor, was ordered to join them. The authorities knew that Surrey and Sussex were to be the scene of the first outbreak, and they were anxious to arrange what force they had so as to prevent the movement from spreading into Kent, where the Royalists were not entirely subdued. On July 3 the Committee sent to Fairfax, asking for a whole regiment of horse from Colchester. On July 4 the Parliament asked the committee to put Farnham and Reigate Castles, and Merton Priory, Sterborough Castle, and other strong places in Surrey, in such a state that they might not be made use of for endangering the peace of the kingdom. According to Rushworth, the order was in consequence of threatening signs in Sussex, which may have been the case; but Rushworth is confused, and writes as if these places were in Sussex, and speaks of securing them, not of rendering them indefensible. The actual order was for their dismantling. Most of them were indefensible really already. They were all probably dismantled after the rising was over, but when Livesey left Reigate, on July 7, he left a guard of twenty men in the castle.

Holland, seeing how matters stood, took the field at once only half prepared. On the evening of July 4 he appeared at Kingston, with Dulbier, the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Peterborough and Lord Francis Villiers, and about 500 or 600 men, and proceeded to collect partisans and plunder the property of the opposite side. If the initial success which Whitelocke had rightly declared to be necessary could be won, much might follow. The very fear of the rising had detached troops from Colchester, and had given time for a rising in Sussex, by checking the march of Livesey and Gibbons. In Kent, Deal, Walmer and Sandwich were still holding out for the King. On July 5 the City again petitioned the Parliament for a return of the King in freedom, honour and safety to London, to treat with Parliament for peace; and for the organizing of the local forces of London and the neighbourhood, by themselves, with cavalry added, making thereby a small army for the use of the Peace party. The avowed objects of Holland were not dissimilar. He issued a manifesto to the effect that he had taken up arms against arbitrary government, in favour of the King, the Parliament, religion and the known laws of the country; to prevent the overthrow of monarchy and of order together. He was fighting not for tyranny, he said, but for constitutional rule. Had he won any success, the City and the remnant of the House of Lords who had answered the City petition favourably would have been mostly on his side. He had sent a special letter to the City, claiming their assistance as clearly in sympathy with him. But Whitelocke was right again in doubting if the Moderates would venture anything, and in preferring the chances of the organized regiments to those of insurgents. On July 6, with scarcely any increase of numbers, Holland marched to Dorking, and thence upon Reigate, hoping to seize the castle. The castle belonged to Lord Monson, a strong supporter of the Independents, and was apparently defensible after a fashion, though much dilapidated.

For the remainder of the operations we have the advantage of an account from an intelligent actor in the events, Major Lewis Audeley, of Livesey's Horse.¹ The situation was as follows: Holland, with 600 men, horse and foot, was in Reigate, with vedettes posted at Red Hill. Sir Michael Livesey, who was an incapable officer, had two troops of horse and three foot companies of his own men, and three troops of Riche's cavalry under Major Gibbons, somewhere between Sevenoaks and Reigate. They were on the march, probably, by way of Westerham. Audeley says nothing of Captain Pretty having joined. Audeley himself, however, with three troops of Livesey's Horse, had been at Hounslow when the alarm came, and had been ordered to join his commander, and on the way to disperse any gathering on Banstead Downs. His route would lie through Kingston, on Holland's rear. But while the latter went directly south to Dorking, Audeley marched by Ewell to Banstead Downs, found no one there, apparently, and went on towards Reigate. He was clearly an efficient officer, and avoiding the superior force of Holland, he went north of Reigate and round about to Red Hill, where he could face about to the west, with communications open in his rear to the main body of his friends. He engaged Holland's outposts, and drove them off Red Hill, but, finding the main body too strong for him, sent to hurry on the troops from Kent, and drew off. He apparently fell back northwards, for the same night Major Gibbons, coming up the road from Kent, missed him and advanced to Reigate, to find that the Royalists had retreated from it to Dorking. Gibbons also retired from Reigate for the night, but reoccupied it next morning early, when the whole force was united. That morning, July 7, hearing that his enemy had left Reigate, Holland marched to reoccupy the town. Livesey and Gibbons, however, were beforehand with him, and turning about he started for Kingston, the Parliamentary troops

¹ King's Pamphlets, 375, 30. "A True Relation," etc., by Major Lewes Awdeley.

going in pursuit two hours later. No gathering of friendly horsemen was collected on Epsom Downs to support Holland. The Surrey countrymen, angry with the reception of their petition, were notwithstanding unlikely to come out, unarmed, to share the fortunes of a retreating force. The enemy were hard upon his rear.

About Ewell a few shots were fired and a few men taken. At Nonsuch was a sharper skirmish. The pursuers were able to overtake the Royalists, for the former were all cavalry—the infantry were coming up behind—while the latter were horse and foot, and could only march as fast as the foot could travel. Between Nonsuch and Kingston, where the road from Talworth goes over Kingston Common, about a mile south-east from Surbiton Station, the Royalists faced about. Their cavalry occupied the rising ground, while the infantry marched on to Kingston. For a little while their enemies halted opposite to them, only a few on either side engaging in single combat, playing valiantly, Audeley said. Then Riche's cavalry fell on, and the fight became general, the Royalists retiring, but stoutly covering as a rearguard the march of their foot into Kingston. In the post of greatest danger, in the rear, Lord Francis Villiers, younger brother to the Duke of Buckingham, a boy of singular beauty, was fighting. His horse was shot under him, and he took his stand with his back to an elm-tree, on the east side of the road. The tree was cut down in 1680, but in Aubrey's time the spot seems to have been pointed out still. Here he kept five or six troopers at bay, till one coming up behind the tree struck off his steel cap, and laid him mortally wounded on the ground. The report reached London that he was wounded and a prisoner, and orders were sent that he should be well cared for. But he was dead; "and good pillage found in his pockets," our informant adds.

When the fight reached Kingston, the Royalist infantry checked the advance of the enemy's horse, who drew off to wait for their own foot, intending to attack next day. The

next day they had scarcely an enemy. Kingston was found evacuated. Half Holland's force had dispersed, many making their way to London, where they were never inquired after, Clarendon declares. The leaders had fled with a few horse northwards. Holland was subsequently taken at St. Neots, and executed. Dulbier was killed in the last scuffle at St. Neots. Buckingham and Peterborough escaped. The bloodshed of the Civil Wars was not over, but with the fight between Nonsuch and Kingston, over the ground covered by the suburban houses and gardens of to-day, and with the death of Lord Francis Villiers, whose comeliness, youth and courage excited widespread compassion for his fate, the curtain falls upon the Civil Wars south of the Thames, and upon all warfare of any kind in Surrey. When once the siege of Colchester was over, in August of the same year, no warfare on land was to be heard of again in the Home counties. The Dutch fleet in the Medway has been the only approach of an enemy to London since. Considering how many commanders, from Julius Cæsar to Sir Michael Livesey, *longo intervallo*, marched troops on active service across Surrey in the previous 1700 years, the peace of the last 250 years may suggest that the Civil Wars were not fought in vain, resulting in certain advantages and offering certain warnings.

One consequence remained of the abortive rising. Livesey's Kentish troops were quartered in West Surrey, between Chiddingfold, Compton and Guildford, and behaved themselves as in a conquered country, insulting and plundering the inhabitants. The villagers of these places petitioned the General in 1649 against this treatment, and the soldiers were removed into Northamptonshire.





CHAPTER XIX.

THE COMMONWEALTH TO THE REVOLUTION.

DURING the Commonwealth and the Protectorate the history of the county is uneventful, save for one episode, characteristic of the times, when the revolutionary religious and social ideas of the fourteenth century seem to emerge to the surface again, and retire, to reappear once more in our own days.

The death of the King had been followed by the formal establishment of the republic, with power in the hands of an oligarchy and the old social system as far as possible preserved. An outspoken publication on the situation, called "England's New Chains Discovered," by the honest republican John Lilburne, expressed a good many people's opinion of the state of things. Lilburne was prosecuted in vain; his party, the political Levellers, who desired a complete revolution, were not very numerous, but they had some strength in the army, and the strength of genuine convictions. But attached to them, and known by the same name of Levellers, were men who, combining social and religious fanaticism, were anxious to overthrow all property. It is, indeed, questioned whether the name Levellers did not originally apply to them, as in the literal sense levelling enclosures. They were also called Diggers, to distinguish them from the political Levellers, who were not always proud of the connexion.

On April 17, 1649, news came to the Council of State that the Levellers were at work about St. George's Hill and St. Margaret's Hill, near Cobham in Surrey. They were digging the waste land, and sowing it with roots and beans. Their leaders were Winstanley and Everard. The latter had been a Parliamentary soldier. He declared himself a prophet, and was probably mad. There were only about thirty of them at Cobham, but they boasted that they would soon be 4,000.

Fairfax sent two troops of horse "to have an account of them," and Winstanley and Everard were brought up to London. They appeared before the General with their hats on, and being asked why, they answered that he was but their fellow-creature. Had they said that, under English law, as expressed in the Petition of Right, the General had no jurisdiction over them, they would have been on firmer ground.

Everard, however, took his stand upon nothing so mundane as the law of England and the immunity of civilians from martial law. He delivered a rambling statement of his doctrine. He was, he said, of the race of the Jews. All the liberties of the people had been lost by the coming in of William the Conqueror, and ever since the people of God had lived under oppression, worse than that of the Egyptians over their forefathers. The time of deliverance was now at hand, and God was about to restore His people to the enjoyment of the fruits and benefits of the earth. For himself, he had lately had a vision, commanding him to dig and plough the earth, and receive the fruits thereof. These were to be in common, and were to be distributed among the poor. For the present he condescended to respect enclosed property, but the time was coming when it would be surrendered, and then all property, money and clothes, beyond a very limited allowance, would be abolished. This was the first time, Whitelocke says, that public notice had been drawn to these opinions in that age in England, but it was by no means the last. These

men represented the extreme wing of a party which was mutinous in the army and clamorous round Westminster Hall—a real nucleus for revolution had it not been for the stolid conservatism of the mass of the people, and of the coming man of the army, Cromwell. These particular Socialists and Anglo-Israelites, who had selected the wastes of Surrey for their experiment, were dispersed shortly, not by the two troops of horse who arrested their leaders, but by the Surrey country people, who had presumably common rights in the ground chosen. They drove away the Diggers and pulled up their roots and beans on April 26, a week after Everard had declared his mission to Fairfax. The Socialistic experiment came, as usual, into immediate collision with the rights of small, not large, owners of property.

Modern political reform appears also under the Commonwealth. Parliamentary reform was naturally suggested by the continuance in power of a non-representative Parliament, and the more moderate political Levellers put forth the Agreement of the People, a suggestion for a new Constitution. It appeared just before the death of the King, and was probably mainly the work of Ireton. They carefully dissociated themselves from the views of Everard by laying down that Parliament should have no power to level estates, take away property, or make all things common. But they contemplated a sweeping reform of Parliament. Surrey was considered over-represented, and was to be cut down from its two county and twelve borough members to two members for Southwark and five single members for five electoral divisions of the county. The Agreement of the People was not agreed to by the remnant of the Long Parliament, who were determined not to reform themselves, and who sat till the army marched them out. When a new Constitution was actually promulgated, in the Instrument of Government of December, 1653, ten members were assigned to Surrey: two for Southwark, one for Guildford, one for Reigate, and six for the county. As members were, accord-

ing to the Instrument, to be chosen for the body of the county, at the place most convenient for the whole county, it would appear that the electoral districts recommended in the Agreement of the People were not adopted.

During part of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, Colonel Thomas Pride, famous for his Purge of the Long Parliament, was High Sheriff of Surrey.

After the Restoration the inevitable changes began again. The old constituencies were restored, and the old franchises. Confiscated royal houses and estates, and the property of the See and Chapter of Winchester, were reclaimed. The Royalist and Presbyterian combination triumphed, and, as was almost inevitable, the Royalist party triumphed in ecclesiastical arrangements. In politics the Moderates generally succeeded, for it was a constitutional and Parliamentary monarchy which was restored.

But in the Church, in two parishes, Charlwood and Newington Butts, the deprived Royalist incumbent claimed to be reinstated at once in 1660. When the final cleavage occurred in 1662, and the Puritans took up the position of Nonconformity, the ministers of the following twenty-seven parishes preferred their conscience to their livings. The list is, according to Calamy's reckoning: St. George's, St. Thomas's, St. Saviour's, St. Olave's in Southwark, Bermondsey, Lambeth, Clapham, Mortlake, Kingston, East and West Moulsey consolidated, Egham, Long Ditton, Farnham, Worplesden, East Horsley, West Horsley, Pirbright, Byfleet, Guildford, Walton-on-Thames, Ewell, Fetcham, Ashted, Ockley, Dorking, Merstham and Coulsdon. We may omit four names of ministers whom Calamy believed to have come from Surrey, but whose livings he cannot give, nor any details of themselves. Among these twenty-seven there were no men of particular mark. There were several learned and pious divines. Some of the more notable were: Mr. Byfield of Long Ditton, a member of the Assembly of Divines who had tried to organize Presbyterianism and failed; Mr. Reyner of Egham, also a member of the

Assembly; Mr. Clarkson of Mortlake, Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge; Dr. Arthur of Clapham, of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, but a D.D. of Oxford since the Restoration, who possibly retired from old age and infirmity, for he was unable to travel to Oxford in 1660 by reason of his age; Mr. Anderson of Walton-on-Thames, who went abroad and became pastor of the English Church at Middleburg in Zealand. For the most part these men held livings near London, or in the more settled parts of the county. In the more remote country villages Conformity seems always to have been more easy at every change.

Later in the reign of Charles II., 1669, the Archbishop (Sheldon) made an attempt to ascertain the details of various Nonconformist conventicles, the number and quality of their congregations, and the names of their ministers. It was after the fall of Clarendon, the strong Anglican Minister, when the Cabal Ministry, all hostile to the Church of England, were in power, and Charles could indulge his own wishes for toleration. The laws against Nonconformity were consequently less rigorously executed, so that probably conventicles were more easily noted, being less concealed and more fully frequented. Twenty-five are enumerated in Surrey, of Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, Fifth Monarchy Men, Quakers, and "people of several opinions." Eleven are in and about London—in Southwark, that is—and no less than four in Dorking parish. One of these latter was ministered to by a Mr. Feake, who was perhaps a noted troublesome person, at one time an Independent, at another an Anabaptist, a violent opponent of the Quakers, who preached against Cromwell's government till even the Lord Protector's toleration gave way, and Feake was sent to prison till Cromwell died. Not many of the deprived Surrey ministers are named as usually assisting. Mr. Batho, perhaps late minister at Ewell, assisted by Mr. King, ejected from Ashted, used to preach at the former place. Mr. Wodsworth, ejected from Newington Butts, preached in Southwark, alleging His Majesty's toleration and per-

mission. Mr. Mayo, of Kingston, continued at the same place. The numbers usually attending are sometimes not given, but when given range from 1,000 in Southwark and 700 or 800 in Godalming, and from 600 in Mr. Wodsworth's congregation in Southwark, down to about 40 or 50. The average is rather over 220 per congregation. In Godalming, besides the big weekly conventicle of 800 people, there was a monthly meeting of 400 or 500. Unless the same persons made up both congregations, the population of Godalming must have been nearly all Nonconformist. They had been extreme Calvinists in 1640.

The Quakers were rather strong in Surrey. Two small conventicles recorded above, in Kingston and Dorking, were Quaker; the monthly meeting in Godalming was at a Quaker's house, and there was a congregation at Newdigate oddly described as "Presbyterian and Quaker." George Fox constantly travelled into Surrey, or through the county into Sussex, on his missionary journeys. At Farnham, in 1656, he had a troublesome experience, but treated it in a way which shows him not to have been without humour as well as worth. He writes in his journal that when he lay at the inn the chief people of the town came to dispute with him, and "when they went away they left all their Faggots and Beer, which they had called for into the room, for us to pay for in the morning. We showed the Innkeeper what an unworthy thing it was; but he told us we must pay it, and pay it we did. But before we left the Town I writ a paper to the Magistrates, and Head of the Town, and to the Priest" (the Rev. John Stileman, ejected 1662, probably objected to the description), "showing them, and him, how he had taught his people, and laying before them their rude and uncivil carriage to strangers who sought their good."

But Fox had happier experiences than at Farnham. About Reigate, Dorking, Capel and Charlwood and that neighbourhood, a considerable number of yeomen farmers joined the Quakers. They suffered severely under the Commonwealth. The Protector did something to help them.

They were well treated at the Restoration, owing to their sufferings under the late rulers, but were shortly again plunged into trouble owing to the insurrection of the Fifth Monarchy Men in 1661, with whom they were absurdly classed as dangerous to the State. Besides the meetings in Dorking and Newdigate, there were monthly meetings of Quakers at two houses in Capel parish, Kitlands and Pleystowe, and at least occasional meetings in Reigate, Gatton, Charlwood, Kingston, Guildford, Worplesden and Eashing. The form of their conscientious objections involved them in trouble even after the Toleration Act. In 1690 Anne Bax of Capel, widow, had a fat bullock worth £3 taken by distress, because she refused to contribute to the charge of the county militia. There were several members, or branches, of the Bax family among the Quakers. Both Richard and Thomas Bax of Capel were in trouble for refusing to pay tithe in 1659 and 1666. Bristowe, Wright, Stedman, Brooker, Brown, Constable, Steere, are among the other early Quaker names of this part of Surrey, and are still to be found in the neighbourhood.

From Catholic Recusants to Quaker Nonconformists is a long way. When the annals of the latter can become the subject of the story of a county, it is clearly falling into the happy condition of having no history. That Monmouth was brought a prisoner through Surrey, after his miserable failure on Sedgemoor, and lodged for one night in Abbot's Hospital, Guildford, is not of capital importance. The troubles of the Revolution of 1688 were, such as they were, not in Surrey, except that it was on Surrey soil, under the tower of Lambeth Church, that the Queen, Mary of Modena, cowered in the rain, the Prince of Wales in her arms, on the night of the flight to France—the one absolutely fatal step of the Stewarts.

Yet trouble had been anticipated in Surrey that year. It was thought that there might be fighting between William's and James's troops near Farnham. The fear of it drove Sir William Temple from his retirement at Moor Park. The

philosophic politician had retired thither from Temple Grove, much broken by grief, age and infirmities. We may notice that the broken-down man of letters, who had posed as a statesman and diplomatist, was fifty-eight, or younger than Mr. Gladstone was when he became Premier for the first time. Temple soon found it safe to return to Moor Park. William III. used to visit him there, to renew their old acquaintance of the Hague, and to listen gravely to political platitudes. William also met Temple's dependant, Swift, there, and failed to recognise that he was a greater man than his master, and worth buying for the Whig cause. Swift also there saw Stella as a child, the daughter of Lady Temple's maid.

The stately, well-mannered periods of Temple's prose remind us of the well-ordered Dutch gardens of his house, which a later taste unfortunately altered, and some literary interest must always belong to the place where the "Battle of the Books" had its beginning.

Such interests are typical of Surrey history after 1688. The record of the county is peaceful and domestic. It was little stirred by the political factions of the time. No Jacobites rose here. Though a regiment was enrolled to fight them in 1745, it perhaps fortunately never saw the Highland broadswords. In 1757 the county was riotous, but it was against the reorganization of the militia that it stirred, the people having a strange objection to being enrolled to defend their country. Feelings were happily different both before and after that. But political interest there is none in the eighteenth century.





CHAPTER XX.

SURREY IRON AND INDUSTRY.

IN the Civil Wars it had been considered of much importance by the Royalists to obtain a footing in the South-Eastern counties, and the Parliament had been equally determined to prevent this. Besides general military considerations, a point of capital importance led the Royalists to seek an entry into Sussex, Kent and Surrey. The principal seat of the manufacture of iron ordnance in the country existed there. The Wealden iron-works were by far the most considerable in England. The cannon, especially, which were cast there were in great request. They were so much valued that the Spanish Ambassador, Gondomar, had in vain tried to prevail upon King James to allow of their export to Spain, where native iron should surely have been available in abundance. Against the wishes of the Government they were actually exported to France. Yet the French seem to have used cast-iron guns before they were made in England, and a French artificer, Peter Baude, had been employed at their first casting in England at Buxted in Sussex, in the sixteenth century, and other French and Flemish workmen had been introduced at about the same time.¹

¹ Lower, "Sussex Archæological Collections," vol. ii., p. 169, etc. See also vol. iii., p. 240; vol. xviii., p. 10. Mr. Lower has collected nearly all available information about Sussex iron.

Not only cannon, but the powder also of the Civil War time came chiefly from Surrey. The oldest powder-mills in England were reported to be those near Wotton. Before they were set up in the sixteenth century all our powder was imported from Flanders. After these were pulled down, the manufacture went lower down the Tillingbourne, the same stream which flows by Wotton and Shiere, and was established at Albury and Chilworth by 1570. There it flourished during the Civil War time, and has continued to exist, if not to flourish, ever since. In the latter part of the seventeenth century there were eighteen powder-mills at Chilworth, and others at Albury. There are still powder-mills at Chilworth. The dams near Wotton no doubt served to make a head of water, which was used for different works at different times. But the great reason for fixing these works here was the abundance of wood for charcoal-making. In 1645 the Committee of the Two Kingdoms was apparently apprehensive of the powder being conveyed where they thought that it should not, and they issued an order forbidding the manufacturer to keep by him more than a certain quantity of the necessary saltpetre, restricting his output to their requirements.¹

To revert, however, to the iron-works. These were not so ancient as those of Kent and Sussex, though they were part of the industry belonging to the same geological formation as in those counties. In Sussex and Kent there is little doubt that iron was worked before the Roman conquest of Britain, and by the Romans during their occupation.

Nothing approaching to this antiquity can be asked for, so far as any evidence at present known warrants, in the case of Surrey iron-works. The reason may not be far to seek. In the first place, the iron was more easily extracted by rude processes from the Hastings Beds, one of the Wealden soils which occurs only in the extreme south-eastern corner of Surrey; secondly, iron was not worked at early periods in any quantity except near water-carriage. It was too heavy

¹ State Papers, Domestic, 1645.

for convenient transit by land. In the Middle Ages it used to be sent down the stream of the Rother in Sussex to the coast, and was taken by sea to London. In the remote parts of the Surrey Weald it was well out of the way, even if it was discovered at all, and the very sparse population of the Weald in Surrey and North Sussex, which we have already noticed at the time of the Domesday Survey, almost implies that it was not worked there then. The industry flourished from the conjunction on the same spot of iron in various forms, and of timber which could be converted into charcoal for fuel, and of a population. The Wealden forest seemed to furnish an inexhaustible supply of wood, and in the earlier periods, up to the sixteenth century, or in the time when as a rule the iron was got direct from the ore in a malleable state, the consumption of fuel was of course not excessive. When about that period the making of cast-iron by blast-furnaces became common, the inroads upon the forest became much greater.

In the Middle Ages the industry is evidently taken for granted as flourishing, and it is casually mentioned at intervals without our being able to recover much detailed information. Sussex, Kent and Surrey were together the seat of it, but Surrey was certainly the least important of the three. Roughly speaking, of the Wealden area in which iron is found, 47 per cent. is in Sussex, 38 per cent. in Kent and 15 per cent. in Surrey. The Surrey part of the district was, for want of water-carriage and roads, more remote in fact than most of the Kent and Sussex iron-fields. Yet when road-carriage could be employed Surrey was nearest to London.

In 1319, for an expedition against the Scots, Peter de Walsham, Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, was ordered to provide from his counties 3,000 horseshoes and 29,000 nails, but probably rather from Sussex than Surrey. About the fifteenth century the scale of works grew larger, and the use of cannon in war becoming more and more important gave a fresh impetus to the industry, or at all events made it

more of a care to Governments. Holinshed states that the first cast-iron gun was made in England in 1543. But an ancient gun has been found in the moat of Bodiham Castle, Sussex, with an inner tube of cast-iron surrounded by hoops of wrought-iron. It appears to be as old as the early fifteenth century. A cast-iron tombstone of the fourteenth century is standing in Burwash Churchyard, Sussex. The art of making cast-iron, therefore, is older than 1543, whether or no it was habitually applied to making cannon. At any rate, the manufacture of cast-iron made a rapid advance in the sixteenth century, and the making of cannon in particular became a notable part of the industry. A gun-founder to the King was appointed in the reign of Henry VIII., if not earlier. His name was Ralph Hogge, of Buxted in Sussex, the same who cast the reputed first gun in 1543, and who brought over Peter Baude, the Frenchman, and other foreigners to help him by their skill.

But about the same time the immense and no doubt wasteful consumption of wood for making charcoal for the blast-furnaces began to attract attention, and those inhabitants who were not making their fortunes out of iron-works inveighed against them as ruining the forests and poisoning the air with smoke.

The complaints are not only in the mouths of politicians and economists: they are expressed in literature as well.

Few readers labour through the 30,000 alexandrines of Drayton's "*Polyolbion*." Those who do will pick up some bits of curious information amid the wilderness of commonplace. One of the best-known extracts from his work is the passage in which he deplores the destruction of the Wealden forests, in Song 17. He describes the treeless downs laughing to see the Weald reduced by the furnaces to the same condition as themselves.

The complaint is not without consolation for us. Ours is not the first age which has bewailed the inroads of commercial enterprise upon natural beauties. Here in the sixteenth century is the nineteenth-century complaint of

Mr. Ruskin; and yet the nineteenth century finds the then ruined Weald as beautiful as ever, without any loss to national resources. The Black Country will equally, some day, blossom as the rose, and Thirlmere will again be lovely.

It was possibly the increased demands of the sixteenth century which led to the development of works in Surrey. The earliest notice of Surrey iron-works is at Newdigate in 1553. Then comes a complaint by the inhabitants of Kingston, in 1562, that whereas they could formerly buy firewood at two shillings and eightpence or three shillings, and charcoal at ten shillings a load, brought from Dorking and thereabout, they were now compelled to pay four shillings or four and fourpence for the former and twenty shillings for the latter, owing to iron-mills set up in the county. "If spedie remedie be nott hadd nowe at this tyme youre seid suppliauntes sholl have nether wood nor coles." The Government was already going about to satisfy them by meddlesome legislation.¹

It is characteristic of that age that most of our definite information about the iron-works comes from instances of legislative interference with them. We have some other indications that Surrey was becoming in parts a manufacturing county, and that iron-mills were being set up there in increasing numbers. We have already noticed the sixteen great pieces of ordnance in the possession of Sir Thomas Cawarden at Blechingley at the time of Wyatt's insurrection. They were probably of local manufacture. Not made at Blechingley, where there seems to be no notice of a furnace, but very possibly at Worth in Sussex, or at Burstow or Godstone or Lingfield in Surrey, a little way off to the south. The same seams of iron, in fact, were worked over the county border, partly in Worth parish in Sussex, and partly in Lingfield parish in Surrey. The same water-power was dammed in different places to afford a blast for the bellows of the furnace and power for

¹ Loseley manuscripts, February 5, 1562.

the hammer of the forge. Furnace Pond was in Worth parish, Forge Pond was over the Surrey border in Lingfield. Both were made by damming the same stream. A little further to the west, a similar little district of iron-working extended from Ifield in Sussex into the parish of Charlwood in Surrey. The same was the case all along the border, indeed. Further west still, near the Surrey boundary, works were to be found at Loxwood, Fernhurst and North Chapel. Collier's and Furnace House in the two latter probably preserve their memory. In immediate connexion were Sidney Mill, near Aldfold in Surrey, where Furnace Bridge still tells its tale, and forges at Dunsfold and at Durfold. Burningfold Wood supplied the industry of the colliers who burnt the charcoal for the iron-works. Everywhere in the neighbourhood of a furnace the work of the colliers—that is, of the charcoal-burners, as we should call them—was carried on. Coal invariably meant charcoal; what we call coal is called sea-coal in the sixteenth century. There are still professional charcoal-burners in Surrey.

The works near North Chapel may also be said to have had their branches in the neighbouring parish of Chiddingfold in Surrey. Aubrey speaks of iron-works in the south part of Chiddingfold parish. They were not the only form of industry which vexed the souls of the rustics of Elizabeth's reign. There were also eleven glass-houses, or glass-works, at Chiddingfold in the reign of Elizabeth, on the green. The inhabitants, with the usual short-sightedness of the day, wished to have them suppressed as a nuisance, alleging that there were others at Thursley, not far off. Speed's maps of Surrey and Sussex mark a glass-house at Aldfold in Surrey, and another close by at Loxwood in Sussex. The graves of French glassmakers were pointed out in Alfold Churchyard in Aubrey's time, so that this industry, too, was indebted to foreign teaching, probably to foreign religious persecution which drove the glassmakers over. On October 26, 1586, the Lords of the Council wrote to Sir William More and other Surrey magistrates, ordering

them to send up to the Council an Italian who had recently erected a glass-house near Guildford, and to inhibit him from completing the said house, or carrying on his works there for the present, complaint having been made to the Council that the woods near Guildford and Godalming were like to be consumed.¹

It was only through great tribulation that industries could be established in England. The reasons for the planting of glass-houses in Surrey were partly the cheapness of fuel, partly the firestone, or malmstone, a calcareous sandstone dug from the Upper Greensand, under the former name near Godstone, and under the latter name in West Surrey. It was specially suitable for making the bed of the furnace. In 1613 a new glass-house was opened in Lambeth, with the usual grumbling against it. Fuller, in the seventeenth century, says that a hundred years before his time the Chiddingfold glass-houses were the only glass-works in England.²

In 1574 we get a list of the principal iron-masters in Surrey, and of their forges and furnaces. In that year Ralph Hogge of Buxted, son probably to the Ralph Hogge who cast the cannon of 1543, describing himself as gun-maker to the Ordnance Office, made a complaint to the Council that his monopoly of exportation of iron cannon was infringed by other makers. Whereupon the Council took bonds from other iron-masters not to found or sell ordnance without a license from the Queen.³ Then follow two long lists for Sussex and Kent, with also some Surrey names and localities.

"The Lady Bray, one forge in Cranleigh, in the hands of Gardener." This forge was no doubt at Vachery. The

¹ Loseley manuscripts.

² This was an industry of long standing. In 1225 Simon de Stocha granted land at Chiddingfold to Laurentio Vitario, *i.e.*, the glass-maker. There is Roman glass at Chiddingfold. Local conditions must have favoured the manufacture, but it can scarcely have been carried on continuously. Earlier centuries than the thirteenth sent abroad for glass.

³ S. P., Dom., Eliz., vol. xcv., 20, 61; vol. xcvi., 199.

stream below Vachery Pond represents the water-power, and Hammer Farm and Hammer Lane by it retain the name.

"Mr. Elderton, one forge in Shiere." This may be represented nominally by Abinger Hammer, the Tillingbourne supplying the water-power. Aubrey's map puts "Sherehammer" apparently where Abinger Hammer now is, but is not minutely accurate. It may very well be that there were two "hammers," one really at Shiere, one at Abinger—very likely where the mills are, for a corn-mill certainly in many cases has succeeded to a "hammer" of the iron-working days. John Evelyn writes of a "hammer" remaining near Wotton in his day, and probably refers to this which belonged to Mr. Elderton.

"Mr. Christopher Darrell, one forge and one furnace at Ewood." This is near Newdigate. He also had a forge at Frant in Sussex, and was a very notable iron-master of the time. Hammer bridge on the Mole, above Leigh, is probably on the site of one of his "hammers."

"Mr. John Gage, one forge and one furnace, about Copthorne and Lingfield."

"Bartholomew Jeffreys, one forge and one furnace in Burstow." Perhaps Blacksmith's Farm, north of Burstow, not far from Copthorne Common, may have something to do with the forge, or they may both have been near Forge Pond, noticed above. The Loseley list, cited below, calls them "at Buckfold."

"Lord Montague, one forge and one furnace in Haslemere or thereabouts." This vague description might refer to the works in the south part of Chiddingfold parish of which Aubrey speaks. But Aubrey also says that Lord Montague had a "hammer" in Frensham called Pope's Hole, which appears in this official list as "a furnace called Pophall," and that he owned one of the Frensham ponds as a head of water for blowing it. But Speed's map marks "Pophole" on the Sussex boundary, near Shotover Mill, south-west of Haslemere, nowhere near Frensham Ponds. The Hammer

Ponds, near Thursley, imply iron-works, which may have been those of Lord Montague in the neighbourhood of Haslemere, taking the "thereabouts" of the list in a liberal sense.

"Thomas Gratwyck, one forge in Dunsfold." The Gratwicks were a Sussex family. Another of them owned works at Ifield.

There is a second list which has Mr. Elkington, instead of Mr. Elderton of the first, at Shiere, and John Lambert at Cranleigh, Richard Marsh at Dunsfold, and Thomas Glyde at Dursfold.

These lists were avowedly of the larger owners and works only.

There were "dyvers fordgs and furnaces" besides, some few of which may have been in the Surrey Weald. The supply of iron for one certainly was, for on June 10, 1595, Lord Montague wrote to Sir William More, asking him to use his influence with a certain Mrs. Hull, to induce her to cease from hindering the executors of the writer's grandfather from "avoiding a certaine myne lyinge at Hambleden." Nothing but iron-ore could be mined for there. The map accompanying Aubrey's "Surrey" marks iron-mills on the Wey near Byfleet, and one on the Wandle. The ore, of course, was conveyed to these, possibly from the Surrey Weald, by aid of the Wey navigation.

To sum up the distribution of the iron-works in Surrey, and upon the borders of Surrey, we may say that the Black Country of the time extended from Sussex into Surrey in three chief districts.

The Fernhurst and North Chapel district of Sussex iron reached into the Surrey parishes of Frensham, Thursley, Haslemere, Witley, Chiddingfold, Hambledon, Dunsfold, Aldfold and Cranleigh. Abinger and Shiere were outlying parts of this iron-field to the north. This is an interesting field of mining geologically, for some of the ore was undoubtedly got from the greensand in the Folkstone Beds, though most of it, perhaps, came from the clay. This

district reached also just over the Hampshire border, near Liphook.

The Ifield district of Sussex iron extended into the Surrey parishes of Charlwood, Newdigate and Leigh. Here, in the time of Christopher Darrell's management of Ewood, the Surrey works were probably more important than those in Sussex. The iron here was exclusively got from the Wealden Clay.

The Worth district of the Sussex works extended into the Surrey parishes of Burstow, Horne, Lingfield and Godstone. The iron here was partly got from the clay, but certainly a good deal of it must have been taken from the Hastings Sand, the richest in ore of all the Wealden soils. There is some reason to think that the communication with London by road through Godstone was better from this than from the other Surrey fields of work.

The Surrey works were certainly in full activity in Elizabeth's time. On August 28, 1576, the Council wrote to Sir William More and Sir Thomas Browne desiring them to stop all further casting of iron guns or of shot in Surrey till Her Majesty's pleasure should again be known. They gave as a reason that the country was sufficiently supplied, and that manufacture beyond the needs of the country led only to the supply of strangers and of pirates. On October 31, 1588, three months after the defeat of the Armada, the Council wrote to Lord Howard of Effingham to appoint a discreet gentleman to visit the furnaces and iron-forges of Surrey and Sussex, and to ascertain the number and kind of the pieces of cast-iron ordnance now ready in the works, and to enjoin the owners and foremen "to forbear to cast any more such peeces of iron ordnance until they shall receive expresse direceion" from the Council. To these letters there is appended a schedule of iron-works and their owners, which appears to be a combination of the two lists referred to above.¹

¹ The Surrey names in this list are : " Lady Braie, one forge at Cranley ; Mr. Elderton, one forge in Shiere ; Mr. Christopher Darrell, one forge,

The Government was plainly solicitous about the manufacture of artillery. The order to cease from production for the present points again to a fear of exportation. In the reign of Charles II., one of the iron-founders to the Crown was George Brown, of Buckland, Surrey, living on the verge of the Surrey iron-country. His partner, however, Alexander Courthope, was of Horsemonden in Kent, and their forges and furnaces, so far as they are named, seem to be in Kent.

The Act of 1 Elizabeth, c. 15, against the destruction of timber, seems to specially mark off the parishes of Charlwood, Newdigate, and Leigh, in Surrey, as part of the iron-producing district. It exempts from the operation of the Act the county of Sussex, the Weald of Kent and these three parishes of Surrey. The Government was extremely solicitous about the destruction of the forests by the blast-furnaces. London depended a good deal upon Surrey for timber and firewood, and the oaks of the Weald were valuable for ship-building. In Henry VIII.'s reign, the Act 35 Henry VIII., c. 17, tried to limit the cutting of wood of a certain size, but exempted the woods of the Weald of Sussex, Kent and Surrey, which stood on private land. The common woods of the Weald were brought under the Act. This may have been highly necessary. Common woods—that is, really large stretches of woodland thrown open to the tender mercies of those who had rights of common in them, and practically, of course, to a parcel of vagabonds besides—are generally so foreign to our experience in England now that we can scarcely realize to what sort of rack and ruin they must have gone under no proper management. But it must have been another addition to

one furnace in Ewood; the Lord Montague, a furnace called Pophall; John Lambert, a forge in Cranley; Richard Marsh, a forge in Douffield; Thomas Glide, a furnace called Darfold; Bartilmew Jeffraie, a furnace and a forge called Buckfold; Robert Woodheie, a forge called Benhall forge in Cranley; Mr. Ellington, a forge in Sheire in Surrie." Benhall Mill, however, nowadays is in Sussex, near Bayham Abbey, and the list, which is called a Surrey list, is chiefly of persons and places in Sussex. See Loseley manuscripts, August 28, 1576, and October 31, 1588.

the grievances of the poor, that the gentry could cut their woods in the Weald at pleasure, while the commoners could not cut theirs.

Then followed the Act of the first year of Elizabeth, to which we have referred, in the same sense against the cutting of wood above a certain size. From the next interference of legislation it would seem that there was a tendency towards the increase of iron-works in Surrey in particular, and near the Sussex coast, for by the Act 23 Elizabeth, c. 15, it was enacted that, "Whereas by reason of the late erection of sundry Iron Mills in divers places of this Realm not far distant from the City of London, and the Suburbs of the same, or from the Downs and sea coast of Sussex, the necessary provision of Wood, as well Timber fit for building and other uses, as well as all other sellable Wood serving for Fewel, doth daily decay and become scant, and will in time to come become much more scarcer, by reason whereof the prices are grown to be very great and unreasonable," no one should convert timber into charcoal for smelting purposes within twenty-two miles of London, nor within the same distance of the Thames. The making of charcoal for iron-works was also, by the Act, prohibited within four miles of the downs between Arundel and Pevensey, or within four miles of Winchelsea and Rye, three of Hastings, and two of Pevensey. Nor were new iron-works to be erected within two-and-twenty miles of London, fourteen miles of the Thames, nor four of the downs, Pevensey, Hastings, Winchelsea, or Rye. An exception was introduced, exempting from the operations of the Act woods in the Weald within twenty-two miles of London, but over eighteen miles distant, or over eight miles from the Thames. The woods of Christopher Darrell, gentleman, of Newdigate, in the Weald of Surrey, were also exempted.

From the somewhat complicated provisions of this Act, we gather, putting aside the case of Sussex, that no new iron-works were to be erected in Surrey or Kent within twenty-two miles of London, nor within fourteen miles of

the Thames beyond that radius; that no wood was to be converted into charcoal for iron-works within twenty-two miles of London and the Thames outside the Weald, nor within the radius of eighteen miles from London, nor within eight miles of the Thames in the Wealden area. The last provision is inoperative, for no wood-bearing part of the Wealden area is within eight miles of the Thames, except a mere corner on each side of the Medway, near Snodland and Boxley, below the chalk escarpment. What the Act unmistakably indicates is that commercial enterprise was beginning to open iron-works, and to seek fuel for them, as near to London, the greatest market, as the Wealden area extended. The Government did its best to cripple the industry by directly prohibiting its being carried on where it could be exercised to the best commercial advantage, and by hindering the provision of means within that area.

Yet from their own exception they might have learned better. Mr. Christopher Darrell was excepted, because the "woods of the said Christopher have heretofore been and be by him preserved and coppised for the use of his Iron-works in those parts." They were not capable of understanding that the provision of a commercial demand, good prices and a constant use for woods would lead, not to their destruction, but to their careful planting, preservation and renewal. John Evelyn admitted this. He was indignant at the destruction of woods, but in his "*Sylva*" he cites the instance of Mr. Darrell, who so ordered his woods for the purposes of his iron-works that they were thereby preserved. He also refers to the experience of his own father, Richard, whom he had heard to say "that a Forge, and some other Mills, to which he furnished much fuel, were a means of maintaining his Woods." Richard Evelyn had probably supplied Abinger or Shiere Hammer. John Evelyn told Aubrey that the first mills in England for casting, hammering and wiring brass were at Wotton. The wire was drawn out in a very primitive manner by the weight of a man in a swing. These may have been "the other mills," the furnace

of which was supplied by Richard Evelyn. The materials for brass-founding were of course not present naturally, but were brought to the fuel from a distance. Similarly, there were bell-foundries in the Weald of Sussex. Local skill in metal-work may have had something to do with their being set up here.

The tendency of the legislation was not merely to cripple the iron-industry, but to take away an inducement among careful and far-seeing men for preserving woods. If they were not to be employed to the best commercial advantage, and preserved for that employment, they would be cleared away to leave more room for land to be converted to arable and pasture. Norden, in his 'Surveyor's Dialogue,' 1607, sees that this result was following, and was pleased at it, for he valued agricultural produce above timber.¹ Times change, and he may have been right in his own. Now an established oak forest would be much more profitable than corn crops on the Wealden Clay, unless we are to see a permanent rise in the price of wheat.

In 1585 the Government discovered another grievance springing from the iron-works, and laid a new burden upon the owners. The Act 27 Elizabeth, cap. 19, is for "The preservation of timber in the Wealds of Sussex, Surrey and Kent, and for the amendment of Highways decayed by carriages to and from Iron Mills there." No new iron-works were to be erected except within the formerly specified limits, and there upon old sites only, unless the owner could supply fuel entirely from his own property. Nor were oak, ash or elm trees of a certain girth to be cut for charcoal. The tops and loppings of such trees, if cut for timber, might be employed as fuel. The immediate result of this part of the Act was to exclude the commercial adventurer from taking a lease of land for iron-works, unless he were prepared to buy woodlands as well.

¹ Norden also liked to see the woods cut, because the people who live in woods are "stubborn and uncivil." He admits that they are amenable to grace, but "they have the more need to seek the means of reformation."

But, further, a heavy burden of road-repairing was thrown upon the industry. It was enacted that "The occupiers of all manner of iron-works whatsoever . . . which shall at any time carry or cause to be carried any coals, mine (*i.e.*, ore) or iron, to or for any of their iron-works, between the twelfth day of October and the first day of May yearly, shall likewise carry and lay, or caused to be carried and laid, for every six loads of Coal or Mine, as well as also for every ton of Iron, carried . . . for the space of one mile . . . one usual cartload of Cinder (*i.e.*, refuse from the furnaces), Gravel, Stone, Sand or Chalk, meet for repairing and amending of the said highways." Three and sixpence might be paid to the Justices in lieu of a cartload of road material.

In 1598, the Act 39 Elizabeth, cap. 19, repealed so much of the former Act as related to highways, and re-enacted similar provisions with regard to the time between October 12 and May 1, allowing three shillings instead of three and sixpence in lieu of a cartload of road material, but adding that for every thirty loads of coal or mine, and every ten tons of iron carried a mile during the period from May 1 to October 12, the same sum should be paid, or one load of road material provided. The Act only applied to the Weald. When once carts were over the chalk downs, it does not appear that this special highway rate could be exacted from the iron-masters. Its tendency must have been to check the production or raise the price of iron very decidedly. More especially so since the previous legislation had driven the industry back from the parts of Surrey or Sussex whence the economic cost of carriage out of the Weald towards London or the coast would have been less burdensome, into the heart of the Weald, whence the mileage affected by this rate was considerable.

That this legislation was to some extent evaded is very probable. Indeed, Norden tells us that it was so, and that wood of a forbidden size was cut, so that if the next thirty years proved as destructive as the last there would be few

good trees left standing in the Weald. In an undated paper among the Loseley manuscripts is the complaint of divers gentlemen and yeomen "declaring the enormyty that hath growen by the late erected yron mille in the said countye by Thomas Elrington squier, and contynewed styлле contrary to the Statute theragaynst provided made in the fyrst yere of the Queens Majesties raigne." This was perhaps a mill erected within the limits forbidden by the Act of the twenty-third year of Elizabeth. The Act of her first year did not forbid the erection of mills.

The first half of the seventeenth century saw the greatest prosperity of the Wealden iron-trade, and too many influential gentlemen, large land-owners and Justices of the Peace, were interested in it to make it certain that restrictions and tolls which would have to be enforced by the Justices would always be imposed.

But above the Justices was the Star Chamber, one of the chief functions of which was to make the Justices do their duty. On August 19, 1636, Charles I. appointed a Commission by letters patent¹ to see to the infractions of these laws, "concerning which several informations have been lately exhibited, and are now depending in Our High Court of Star Chamber." The offences alleged included cutting of timber of an unlawful size for conversion into charcoal; making of charcoal within the limits forbidden by Elizabeth's laws; and setting up new iron-works within the prohibited limits. The Commissioners were empowered to accept composition for their offences from those who had broken the laws. On July 29, 1637, a proclamation was issued² reciting that two surveyors had been appointed under the Great Seal in the previous October, with powers to visit all iron-works and woods used in connexion with them, to take care that the laws were not being broken, and to mark all iron before it left the place where it was made, to ensure its being of a proper quality, "for the reformation of sundry deceits and abuses now used and practised in the making of

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*, xx. 68.

² *Ibid.*, 161.

iron, and in the vent and sale thereof in bars, by the intermingling the worse sort with the better, and so selling them promiscuously and deceitfully together."

The care of a paternal Government was followed by another sort of misfortune, civil war. In 1643, when Sir William Waller had been put at the head of the troops of the Associated South-Eastern Counties, he disarmed the Royalists so far as he could in those counties, and destroyed the iron-works belonging to them.

The increasing cost of fuel was undoubtedly another cause for the decay of the industry. At the last furnace existing in Sussex, Lord Ashburnham's, near Hastings, put out in 1828, we find that to make thirteen tons of pig-iron required fifty loads of charcoal, two chords of wood making one load of charcoal, and fifty loads of ironstone, twelve bushels to each load. Yet this consumption of wood, a hundred chords to thirteen tons of pig-iron, is not too impossibly extravagant for continuance if the woods were well attended to and the charcoal produced economically. It is significant that, when the iron-industry was dead in West Sussex, the Government set up works for the production of charcoal in the same neighbourhood, close to the Surrey border, and produced a great quantity for the gunpowder-mills, precisely where Norden tells us that the woods about Burningfold in Surrey had been destroyed already for the sake of the iron, a manifest exaggeration of his. The woods clearly existed, and still exist. At Chilworth in Surrey charcoal continued to be made for the same purpose from woods which had not been destroyed by the iron-works near that place.

The extreme badness of the roads in the Weald had also something to do with the decline and fall of the manufacturing South-East. The discovery of the possibility of smelting iron with coal, completed about 1735, added to the advantages of other fields of production. The want of patriotism of iron-masters, who smuggled over iron guns to France in wartime, and so caused a Government contract

to be transferred to the Carron Works in Scotland, gave about the final blow.

It is difficult to say exactly when the last works ceased in Surrey. Aubrey speaks of Lord Montague's works at "Pope's Hole" as existing, and says that there are two forges in Witley Park. His map marks iron-mills on the Wey and the Wandle, in Lingfield, and at "Sherehammer." This probably reflects the state of things in the early part of the eighteenth century. Aubrey made his perambulation between 1673 and 1692; but the map may not be contemporary. The improved edition of Ogilby's "Book of Roads" of 1720 marks iron-mills near the road on Wisley Common. These are probably intended to be those which Aubrey marks on the Wey. Cannon were cast at the Worth Iron-mills close to the Surrey parish of Lingfield, up to the latter part of the last century. Within seventy years from 1848, according to Mr. Lower, guns were made there. Allen ("History of Surrey and Sussex") says that Fernhurst was the last place where iron was made in West Sussex, again near the Surrey boundary, and that none had been made there for forty years. This is reckoning from some time before 1829, when his work was published. These two dates agree roughly with the date 1779, when the Carron Works became the place of manufacture of guns for the navy. W. Stevenson ("A View of the Agriculture of Surrey, 1809") speaks of the iron-works as extinct, but says that there is iron about Haslemere, Dunsfold and Cranleigh, and about Lingfield and Horne. These are two of the chief centres which we have noticed already, and are evidently mentioned by him as the last well-known seats of the trade.

Curiously, Stevenson in this passage speaks of there being iron in other parts of the county, not worth seeking after owing to the dearness of fuel. This sounds as if he thought that in the two neighbourhoods which he particularizes it might still be worth working.

In the Wealden Clay the ore was clay ironstone, as about Newdigate and Charlwood, Dunsfold and Chiddingfold; but

near the two latter there also occurs the concreted ferruginous gravel called ragstone, which was used for smelting. Lingfield village is on the Wealden Clay, but Forge Pond and the works connected with the Worth district in that direction were on the ferruginous sandstone of the Hastings Beds. There is no information as to what ore was got from the Lower Greensand, as at Thursley and near Shiere. It may have been the brown siliceous ironstone called carstone, which occurs on the Folkestone Beds. This contains rather a high percentage of iron, as hydrated sesquioxide. The Sandgate Beds, which occur near Albury, contain also an ironsand which might possibly serve as ore.¹

The blast-furnaces were blown by two pairs of bellows, which were worked alternately by a water-wheel, so that one was being compressed while the other was being opened for a new blast. A similar arrangement alternately lifted and let fall a heavy hammer in the forge. Water-power was always apparently employed for works of any size, and many streams were dammed to form mill-heads for the purpose. Some few of these ponds remain in Surrey, as the Hammer Ponds at Thursley, one of Frensham Ponds, perhaps the mill-ponds at Abinger and Shiere, and a few in the south-east of the county. Ewood Pond, which worked Christopher Darrell's mills at Newdigate, was drained some fifty or sixty years ago. The pond at Van, near Ockley, is later, having been made to work a projected mill of another kind, which was, however, never built. Vachery Pond was made as a reservoir for the Wey and Arun Canal, but a smaller pond for working an iron-mill was close to the same site before it. It is marked in Speed's map. Hammer Farm is just below it. In Sussex there are very many more of the iron-mill ponds existing, and there are some in Kent. Norden says that Surrey and Sussex contain more fish-ponds than, he thinks, any other twenty shires. The fish were packed in barrels for the London market, salted of

¹ Topley, "Geology of the Weald," Part IV., chap. xix.

course. He remarks that the ponds were also useful for mills of different kinds, but it does not occur to him that they were probably made for mills more often than for jack and carp. They are sometimes now preserved for the latter use, but for sport, not for commerce.





CHAPTER XXI.

ROADS, CANALS AND RAILWAYS.

ONE serious drawback to the prosperity of any industry in Surrey was undoubtedly the bad condition of the roads, which by the Elizabethan legislation were to be mended by the mill-owners. The "cinders," as they were called—that is, the scorixæ from the furnaces—are the best road material in the Weald, but the ordinary Wealden stone is too soft for heavy traffic, and even with good materials no one knew how to make a decent road. In the memory of living men fat pigs, sold at a farm in the Weald of Surrey, had to be killed on the spot, because it was impossible to remove them alive either on their own feet or on wheels. In the early years of this century bearers could not walk abreast carrying a coffin down the highroad from Coldharbour to Dorking, because the two sides sloped together at such a sharp angle.¹ In 1750 the people of Horsham petitioned Parliament for a passable carriage-road to London, this road by Coldharbour and Dorking, which had superseded the excellent Roman road, being accessible only on horseback. If they wanted to drive to London, they gravely declared that they had to go down to the coast and round by Canterbury!² The roads from Newhaven, Rye

¹ The writer has these two facts from eye-witnesses.

² The statement seems incredible, but see Young, "Survey of Sussex," p. 418. Rents rose from 7s. to 11s. an acre after the new road was made.

and Hastings to London must therefore have been equally bad. Well may Young say that it is the worst instance of want of communication which he had heard of in England. One wonders whether they could not have got round by Chichester to the Portsmouth road. But the ways in West Sussex and Surrey were probably hopeless as driving roads for people who could not afford eight horses to a coach, as the Duke of Richmond could when he drove to Goodwood. Prince George of Denmark, going to Petworth through West Surrey, in Queen Anne's reign, covered nine miles in six hours in a coach, and several of his attendants were overturned. The Horsham petition produced a Turnpike Act, in 1755,¹ for making the present road through Capel to Dorking. But it is significant that on this road there were tolls for carriages drawn by six or more horses. Oxen often dragged carriages, as they always dragged carts, through the worst of the Wealden Clay. One consolation accompanied this state of things. No enemy with heavy artillery or baggage train could have advanced upon London from the South Coast in those days, anywhere between the Dover and the Portsmouth roads.

Arthur Young, in 1769, in his "Six Weeks' Tour in the South of England," enumerates the few miles of good road which he knows, and says sweepingly of the rest that "it is a prostitution of language to call them turnpikes." This, too, is after some efforts had been made to provide for their maintenance by turnpikes, and applies to the chief roads only. The roads which in these days would be the care of the District Councils, not the county roads, were unmade tracks. Over the chalk and up to London the roads were much better.

It was partly to remedy this state of things that a great engineering feat, remarkable for the age, was carried out in Surrey in the middle of the seventeenth century. Regulating the flow of rivers, and making them navigable by sluices and locks, seems to have been common in Lombardy and

¹ Act 28 George II., cap. 45.

the Netherlands before the seventeenth century, and was introduced into France under Henri IV. Sir Richard Weston, of Sutton Place, near Guildford, had seen the invention of locks in the Low Countries, and has the credit of introducing them into England. In 1651 he obtained an Act of Parliament for making the Wey, from Guildford to its junction with the Thames, navigable by means of locks. The scheme was long in progress. There were quarrels among the shareholders, and difficulties with others, and it was not till another Act had been obtained, in 1671, that the matter was settled. It made Guildford an important centre for the supply of corn, beer and timber to the London markets. Oak for ship-building was brought this way from the Weald to the Thames. The Wey has a good claim to be considered the first instance in England of a river made navigable by locks. Sluices to keep up the water, with movable panels or gates, had existed before in other places.¹

The Wey navigation was begun in 1653, under the superintendence of one James Pitson, and cost only £15,000. In 1663 this same Pitson and his friends complained that William Dickenson and others had fraudulently obtained possession of some land upon the banks of the new channel of the river, by representing themselves as the proprietors of the navigation, and stopped all traffic unless it paid toll to themselves. In some weeks 500 or 600 quarters of corn or meal, and the King's timber for ship-building, had been stopped—a complaint which gives us a favourable idea of the amount of traffic carried.²

When the great impetus to canal-making was being given by the Duke of Bridgewater and Brindley the engineer, about the time of the Seven Years' War, the Wey Naviga-

¹ There is, however, a curious letter (Loseley manuscripts, April 6, 1566) from Viscount Montague touching "a certen locke" erected by one of his servants "between Woodham lande and Brooke lande upon the water of Weye," to facilitate the carriage of wood from his wharf there to London. This was a little above Weybridge. If it was a real lock, and not a weir, it is the earliest instance known in England, but it leaves the priority of locked rivers still with the Wey.

² Lords Journals, xi. 507.

tion was extended further up the stream to Godalming, by an Act of Parliament of 1760. It may be permitted to the modern boating man to believe that some of the locks on it still represent the art of the last century.

In 1796 the Basingstoke Canal was completed, coming from North Hampshire into the Wey navigation near its junction with the Thames. The subsequent establishment of the camp at Aldershot, on the line of the Basingstoke Canal, has kept it in use for the conveyance of military stores.

The Surrey Canal was made in accordance with an Act of 1801, from a dock at Rotherhithe to Camberwell, across the levels of the Surrey side, without a lock. It was intended originally to be carried on to the Thames again at Vauxhall. The Croydon Canal was projected at the same time, and ran from Croydon, through part of Surrey and Kent, to join the Surrey Canal at Deptford. In 1836 it was purchased by the Croydon Railway Company, and is now partly used as the line of the London, Brighton and South Coast and South-Eastern Railways.

But the system of water-carriage connected with the Wey was completed by another canal, partly in Surrey. The Arun, in Sussex, had been made navigable from Littlehampton to above Pulborough; its tributary, the Sussex Rother, had been made passable up to Midhurst; and a canal from the lower part of the Arun had been carried along parallel with the coast to Portsmouth. The system between the Thames and the South Coast was perfected by a canal from the Wey navigation, leaving the river half-way between Guildford and Godalming, and going to the Arun above Pulborough. The Act was obtained in 1813, and the canal was opened shortly afterwards.

One hundred or one hundred and fifty years earlier such a communication might have kept the iron-industry alive. When it was made it was of much use for the supply of coal to the inland districts of Sussex and Surrey from colliers discharging at Littlehampton or Arundel, and it conveyed

agricultural produce from the Weald to the Thames or the sea in different directions. But a new mode of travelling was being adopted. The age of railways came, and canals were neglected and despised—allowed to fall into the hands of railway companies, or too lightly abandoned altogether. The Wey and Arun Canal is now a thing of the past, as completely as are stretches of the Roman road which runs near it. In 1873 it was barely passable for a small boat. Now it is in many places filled up and abandoned. In others it remains a neglected ditch overgrown with reeds and water-lilies, haunted by the kingfisher and the moorhen. The canalized Arun and Rother, connected with it, are falling into the same state. Perhaps posterity, musing upon neglected embankments and exploring disused cuttings, may point to the abandonment of Roman roads, canals and railways in turn, as curious instances of the mutability of fashion and the rapid vicissitudes of human inventions.

Surrey can boast not only of the first canalized river, but of the first public iron railway in England. Not of a railway traversed by locomotive engines, but a literal rail way, or tramway, as we now call it. Similar roads had existed for some time in the North, the property of colliery-owners, running from the pits to harbours, or navigable rivers, and used by the proprietors only. In 1802 an Act of Parliament authorized the construction of an iron railway from Croydon to Wandsworth for the use of the public. Its principal object was to convey lime and building materials from Croydon to the river, and several manufactories of various kinds stood near it, and used it to some extent. It was so successful that it was shortly extended to Merstham, and a further project was talked about of connecting the Wey and Arun Canal, by a branch through Horsham, with the terminus of the railway at Merstham. It is possible that in this way some traffic might have been encouraged, but the scheme never got any further. The extension of the railway to Merstham was not successful. The gradients were thought too steep, and the amount of traffic was not

remunerative. It is interesting and instructive to read contemporary comments, arguing that such railways could not be expected to succeed where the physical difficulties of surmounting a hill were so great, and, more reasonably, that they could not pay where they failed to reach a large population and a productive district. Steam-power, even by fixed engines, was not thought of; the traction was all by horse-power. Though it was remarked how immensely horse-power was increased by the new invention, yet the experiment was considered a failure. The traction of heavy goods was considered to be wonderfully accelerated from Merstham down the incline. On July 24, 1805, it is recorded that one horse drew twelve loaded waggons, each weighing three tons, from Merstham to Croydon, a distance of six miles, in one hour and forty-one minutes. But this was downhill. One horse could not have pulled them up again at all, and there was nothing worth sending up in them. It was, of course, true that a great mistake had been made in allowing the line to terminate in such a place as Merstham, with no through communication anywhere. The writer has heard the abandoned track, which may be observed near the road from London, north of Merstham, gravely attributed to the Romans, or called an abandoned canal, despite the fact that it runs uphill.

The earliest railway worked by locomotive engines in the London neighbourhood started also in Surrey. On December 26, 1838, the London and Greenwich line was opened with great ceremony. The terminus at the London end was where the London Bridge Station now is. It is to us difficult to realize that when the present reign opened there was no locomotive engine in the whole of Surrey. The Greenwich line was considered a great engineering feat, built as it was entirely on brick arches. It was an undoubtedly expensive one. The Croydon railway followed in 1839, using the same line for a short way. Then came the Brighton line, opened in 1849, and the South-Eastern, or, as it was called, the Dover Railway, for which the Act

was obtained in 1836. It was completed from Redhill to Dover in 1842. They ran out of London on the Croydon line, and paid to it a fixed charge of one shilling a passenger. The South-Western line was made in 1840 to Southampton. When the line to Brighton was first projected, the gap in the chalk at Dorking, and the corresponding Shoreham Gap in the South Downs, were considered to offer the easiest route, and the line was intended to run by Epsom, Letherhead, Dorking, Horsham and Shoreham. Some of the Surrey land-owners, near Letherhead, violently objecting to the new-fangled invasion of their fields, employed a clever advocate to persuade the Brighton people that a line in this direction would bring Worthing as near to London as Brighton itself, and interfere with the one great advantage possessed by the latter place. The argument was certainly forcible, and it prevailed. The direct line to Brighton was adopted, and Letherhead and Dorking remained upon sidelines only for years.





CHAPTER XXII.

AGRICULTURE AND THE POOR.

THE present produce of industrial enterprises in Surrey surpasses in value by many hundreds of thousands of pounds anything which we hear of in the past. It is nevertheless true that special Surrey industries are, like the Wealden iron-works, a feature of history, not of contemporary life. A great establishment like Messrs. Barclay and Perkins' brewery in Southwark, for instance, is not in any way characteristic of the county. The digging of fuller's earth near Nutfield and Blechingley was, and is to some extent, a peculiar industry in Surrey;¹ but when charcoal-burning and iron-works had languished or expired in the Weald, agricultural produce, for the London market chiefly, remained the one great staple of the industry of the county. In the neighbourhood of the Thames, on the Hog's Mill Stream and on the Wandle, some manufactures were established, and the neighbourhood of London encouraged market-gardening in the north of the county. Otherwise in the last century the Surrey land-owner depended upon farming for his rents, and the small farmer also existed—we should hardly say flourished—in the county.

In two respects Surrey was in the van of agricultural progress, but probably in these only. Sir Richard Weston,

¹ Walkhampstead, the old name of Godstone, suggests the industry. *Walcken* is in Flemish "to full," and a fulling-mill was in Old English a "walk-mill"! Had Eustace of Boulogne Flemish fullers there in 1086?

who had introduced canal locks to England in Surrey, is said by Aubrey to have first introduced clover, in 1645, from Flanders or Brabant. Certainly, in 1650, in a book styled "Directions for the Improvement of Barren Lands," he recommended the cultivation of turnips, thereby anticipating by seventy years Lord Townshend's introduction of the turnip into Norfolk. Turnips were not unknown in England as a garden vegetable long before this, but there is reason to suppose that it was in Surrey that they were first extensively cultivated.

Arthur Young's "Six Weeks' Tour in the South of England," 1769, includes a notice of only a small part of Surrey, but, as usual with Young, the notice is comprehensive so far as it extends. He came into the county by Farnham, travelled to Guildford, and thence to London, with many execrations on the roads. Farnham was already famous for its hops, but otherwise he did not find the country productive or advanced in its farming. "What little I have observed of Surrey gives me no great opinion of its fertility," is his remark upon the general aspect of what he saw. The rotation of crops near Guildford seemed to him unscientific. It was (1) fallow; (2) wheat; (3) spring corn; (4) clover; (5) wheat; (6) beans, peas or oats. Three quarters of wheat was, he says, considered a middling good crop.¹ He justly objects to the sequence of 2, 3, 4, 5 in the course, as too trying for ordinary land in ordinary seasons.

The ploughing was done by teams of four horses, or of four, six or eight oxen. Nearly all judicious persons whom he consulted preferred the latter, but the former were more common by ten to one. Ploughing-oxen seem now to have quite disappeared from Surrey, though they linger in Sussex. Land near and south of Guildford let at from 10s. to 15s. an acre. Between Guildford and Ripley the higher rate pre-

¹ Twenty-four bushels an acre is not a bad return, though modern farming looks for more. Young estimated the return at this time in the west at from fifteen to twenty. The best thirteenth-century farming produced ten. See Walter of Henley, p. 71, Dr. Cunningham's edition.

vailed. Wages were 1s. 2d. a day in winter, 1s. 4d. in spring, 2s. to 2s. 6d. in harvest. Prices were: Mutton, 4½d. a pound; beef, 4d.; bread, 2d.; butter, 7d. Rents were higher nearer London, wages a trifle higher, and prices much the same. The Surrey labourer in those days was not only without a great deal in the way of clothes, clocks, schools, doctors, news—the elements of civilization, in fact, which his descendant possesses—but he was not well off otherwise. An exaggerated idea of the comfort of the labourers of that age sometimes prevails. He seldom touched butcher's meat, cheap as we think it, except on special festivals. Bread at 2d. per pound meant the quartern loaf at 8d., or half a day's wages, for half the year or more. The labourer, however, did not often eat wheaten bread; barley and oatmeal were more common. His house was usually very bad, worse than it is now, and largely constructed of wattles and mud, but sound timber and weather-tiles were not unknown. The great extent of commons and heaths did provide him with some turf and brushwood for fuel, sometimes with feed for geese. But the small farmers, who could keep cows, probably profited more by the commons than the labourers did. The son of a small Surrey farmer, William Cobbett, born in 1762, has told us of the hardships of his early life in a class just above that of the receivers of weekly wages. W. Stevenson ("Review of the Agriculture of Surrey," 1809) shows us how the pressure of the war-time, with its high prices and high taxation and rates, had influenced wages and rents between Young's time and his own. He also adds much curious information about the commons and the common fields, which Young does not mention.

We must remember that before his time, and practically since the time of Young's visit, the burden of the old Poor Law, with its stupendously unwise encouragement of outdoor relief in aid of wages, had fallen upon the county. The population in 1801 was 269,043 resident persons. The number of paupers relieved in their parishes in 1802-3, from

Easter to Easter, was 36,140, or nearly exactly $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.¹ There were besides 6,895 who were relieved out of their parishes, many of whom were belonging to the county, and when they did not so belong may be balanced by Surrey paupers relieved in other counties. Parishes differed. In Capel 40 per cent. of the population were wholly or partially on the rates, and the rate was 11s. 9d. in the pound. The rates were generally very high. Witley, in 1802-3, bore off the palm with 18s. in the pound, but with only the same percentage as Capel—about 41 per cent. of the people on the rates. Witley was approaching being an experiment in the “nationalization of the land.” Fortunately, it was not in the hundreds of Kingston, Emleybridge, Reigate, Tandridge, or Wallington, which were assessed on the rack rental. Looking at the method of assessment, perhaps the rates were nearly as high in Coulsdon and Sandersted as in Witley, for, being in Tandridge Hundred, their rate was 10s. in the pound on the rack rental. The money expended for the relief and maintenance only of the poor, putting aside all incidental expenses of any kind, was in 1802-3 £133,840 15s. 11d.²

The burden sometimes drove parishes and persons to strange devices for escaping it. It is not fair even now to name the parishes nor the persons of the following story; the descendants of those engaged are still some of them on the spot, and are most worthy citizens. The story is literally true, however, and is preserved in the parish books of X. in

¹ Compare these figures with the report issued in 1898 by Mr. Murray Browne, inspector under the Local Government Board:

Chertsey Union, paupers relieved in 1898, just over 3 per cent. of the population; Reigate Union, just over $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; Hambledon Union, just under 3 per cent.; Dorking Union, under 3 per cent.; Epsom Union, $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; Kingston Union, just over 2 per cent.

For the whole of Surrey the paupers are one to every forty-four of the population, and the average cost per head a week is 3s. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. Only pauper lunatics are increasing, or being found out. Yet impatient philanthropists think that the poor are going to the dogs under the administration of a scientific Poor Law.

² A Return of Expenditure, etc., under the Poor Laws, made by order of the House of Commons, 1803.

Surrey. In 1801 the Vestry of X. instructed one of their overseers to employ a solicitor to prosecute the churchwardens and overseers of Y. for conspiracy, because they had bribed a "foolish person" in X. to marry another foolish person, a pauper in Y., so as to relieve Y. of her presence. That the accusation was true would appear from the churchwardens and overseers of Y. paying in 1802, from parish funds, apparently, £100 to the parish of X. rather than go into court. The evil had not reached its greatest extent by 1803. After the war-time rates rose and wages fell. Labourers in the Weald worked at 5s. a week nominal wages, really receiving out of the rates enough to keep them alive.¹ The independent man could not compete with them, and necessarily became a pauper too. This was later; but the evil was growing when Stevenson wrote in 1809.

He estimated rents at from 10s. to less than 20s. an acre in the Weald; on clay land, not in the Weald, at from 15s. to 20s.; on the chalk, at from 16s. to 20s.; about Godalming, good land on the whole, from 25s. to 30s.; near London, from 40s. to 60s. Wages he put at from 13s. to 15s. on an average of the whole year. These wages do not compare very unfavourably with the agricultural wages of to-day. But prices had risen very considerably since the previous century. The price of wheat was doubled, from about 50s. to 100s. per quarter. That of beef and mutton had increased about one-half. Taxation was much higher; and the poor rates had over the whole of England gone up from £680,000, in round numbers, in 1750, to £1,500,000 in 1776, £4,000,000 in 1801, £4,077,000 in 1803, and £6,650,000 by 1811. They touched nearly £8,000,000 in 1818. Surrey had her fair proportion. No doubt in 1809 the high price of wheat had given a fictitious appearance of prosperity to the farmers and those dependent upon them, but rates and taxes were pressing them hardily. There were a good many yeomen left, farming their own land, especially in the Weald. This

¹ In 1825 some waste land in Capel was reclaimed by labourers at from 3s. 6d. to 5s. a week—all outdoor paupers.

class collapsed entirely when the war prices gave way, and their farms, already mortgaged for the most part to provide for their younger children, were sold to larger owners or to a new class of London gentlemen and tradesmen who wished to settle in the country.

But the most interesting information which Stevenson gives us concerning Surrey agriculture is his account of the common fields then existing. The history of enclosures in Surrey, or the recoverable history at least, is fairly modern. As we have seen, there are indications that under the Tudors the general movement in favour of ousting squatters or cottars from the lord's demesne, and the waste, and the enclosure of parks for pleasure, with evictions, such as the extinguishing of the village of Cuddington by Henry VIII., had affected Surrey. The insurrectionary movement of 1549 had had its supporters here. The eviction of copyholders from the common fields, the joint possession of many men or of a whole village, was not legally possible at the pleasure of any lord of a manor, and was not commonly attempted. Acts of Parliament at a later period than the Tudor reigns effected this revolution in English agricultural life, and this legislation was late in touching Surrey.

On the Wealden Clay it is said that there never were any common fields;¹ at least, there seem to be very few, if any, traces of them south of the chalk downs. There are Lammas lands, with common rights of pasture, at Godalming—an ancient settlement—and we find there the name Bury Meadows, as we find Bury Fields at Guildford. But it does not appear that there were common arable fields there. There was a common field at Shalford; but in the sixteenth century its original character must have been changed, for an individual owner granted an acre out of it to the Grammar School at Guildford—an impossible benefaction had it been regulated according to the old practice

¹ James and Malcolm, cited below, when writing of Sussex agriculture, 1794, mention no common fields in the Sussex Weald either.

of common fields. The common fields represent the holdings of the *villani* of the primitive settlement—it is safer to say village or settlement than manor—and it is noteworthy that traces of common fields are not found in the part of the country which was practically uninhabited at the time of the Domesday Survey. There were commons, or wastes, of great extent, and there were copyhold tenures on the manors which came into existence after that time. Where there is copyhold there was villenage. But the common fields which are known to have existed in Surrey seem to have been confined to the pre-Conquest settlements. They are exclusively in the parishes which lie along the northern edge of the chalk downs, or in the immediate neighbourhood of the Upper Thames in Surrey, and at Cobham, which lies between these two districts. It is not too much to say that they may be certainly said to have existed in the parts of the county which would be first settled by people coming into the county from the borders of North Kent and Middlesex, on the dry, open land beyond the London Clay, but accessible from the Lower Thames valley near London, or in the land easily reached by immigrants from Berkshire or across the Thames, and that they are not to be certainly found elsewhere.

The first Act for enclosures in Surrey was a private Act of the 8th year of Queen Anne, for the enclosure of disparked land at Farnham. The common fields of Newington were enclosed by an Act of 10 George III. In 14 George III. common fields opposite Laleham in Middlesex, across the Thames, were enclosed. In 1779 the first enclosure Act for Cobham enclosed the common fields; the second Act of 1793 enclosed the commons or waste, 1,300 acres, leaving 300 uninclosed. Between 1794 and 1809, the date of the publication of Mr. Stevenson's book, commons were enclosed at Penge to the extent of 300 acres, at Croydon 350 acres, at Ewell 350 acres, at Fetcham and Bookham 1,100 acres, including common fields, at Clandon 150 acres, at Pease Marsh 800 acres, at Esher 500 acres, and common fields at

Peckham. By two Acts of 1800 a great deal of common was enclosed at Weybridge and Walton. The Duke of York alone, who then lived at Oatlands, got 1,000 acres as his share. In all, 5,000 or 6,000 acres of commons or common fields were enclosed in the first forty years of George III. But the common fields of a good many of these places, and of others, too, survived. Mr. Stevenson enumerates them as follows: Beddington, Wallington and Carshalton, 1,200 acres; Sutton and Cheam, 2,000 acres; Epsom, 800 acres; Letherhead, 2,000 acres; Ashted, 700 acres; Fetcham, 150 acres. All the above lie along the edge of the chalk, and Mr. Stevenson has omitted another case which is marked on the old maps in the same class of parishes, namely Horsley. He gives another group lying along the Thames: Egham, 300 acres; Hythe field, which is above Chertsey, 250 acres; Thorpe, 350 acres; Runnymede, 250 acres; Mortlake, Putney and Barnes, 340 acres. In this group he omits common fields in the Manor of Talworth in Long Ditton, which were enclosed in 1818. But those which he enumerates make a total of 8,350 acres of common fields existing within the lifetime of a few old people.

Like all other rural economists who knew the common fields by observation and experience as they existed, Stevenson is keenly opposed to them and desirous of their enclosure. Over this large extent of ground labour was thrown away, he says, and improvements were impossible. He notices the familiar distribution of the land in scattered strips about the fields, in the hands of different men, the cultivation according to custom, the balks of turf between the ploughlands of twenty-two yards width, and the store of thistles and weeds growing on them, which infected the neighbourhood. Two hundred years earlier Norden puts into more pithy words what Stevenson thought about the commoners, that they worked "according to a stubborn pattern of ancient ignorance, by which they only shape all their courses." Stevenson found that the rights in the common fields were

often let. He has already given the average rent of enclosed farms on the edge of the chalk as at from 16s. to 20s. an acre. The common fields at Sutton and Cheam let at 10s. an acre, at Epsom at 13s., at Ashted at 9s., at Beddington, Wallington and Carshalton at 14s. But he has to admit that in the latter places part of the common fields near a town, that must be near Croydon, let at from 25s. to 60s. an acre, which does not make a rent very different from his estimate of that of enclosed land near London, letting at from 40s. to 60s. Similarly at Hythe field the common fields let at from 16s. to 20s., very much the same as the normal enclosure rents on similar soil; and at Egham from 20s. to 25s., which is above the average which he gives for the rent of enclosures. Possibly enterprising capitalists sometimes managed to become tenants of so much of the common fields as to be able to disregard the customary cultivation, and to treat the land scientifically on a newer system, or turn it even to market-garden uses near the towns.¹ On the social effects of the possession of land in any form by the commoners he says nothing. But he implies that they were not exclusively labouring people or small farmers who possessed the strips. He talks of people of some substance who ought, he thinks, to recognise the advantages of enclosures, being owners of strips in the fields. He would be satisfied now, for enclosure Acts have swept all these common fields away since his time.

A little earlier than Stevenson, in 1794, Messrs. James and Malcolm made a report of the agriculture of Surrey for the "Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement." Their report agrees on the whole with his. They enumerate common fields in the same places, but put the average rents rather lower, and condemn the system quite as roundly. The farmers, they declare, willingly would give half as much

¹ The same development may take place in the case of allotments, the present-day substitute for common fields. The writer has known a case in Surrey where an enterprising publican got several allotments into his own hands, and dug out building-stone from them.

again for the land if enclosed. They actually estimate the change as likely to double its value. They tell us that much of the common fields was in the hands of "opulent gentlemen." One curious instance they add, not given by Stevenson, of something which looks like a real "mark meadow." Send Common Broad Meadow, also called Woking Broad Mead, by the Wey, was of 365 acres extent, and in the hands of fifty owners. After the hay was carried it was closed till September 18, but from that date to March was open to the cattle of the proprietors, the neighbouring parishes, and even distant places, so that it was hopelessly trodden down by overcrowding—a "shameful custom," they call it. Shameful or not, it looks very like the survival of the common rights of several settlements in their common mark land.

James and Malcolm also bewail the state of the waste lands, where, as on Pease Marsh and Lowfield Heath, cattle were in real danger of starving, the ground was so poor, poached and ill-used.

Many wastes have been enclosed since their time, though much remains. One-sixth of the county, or about 120,000 acres, was estimated to be waste land in the last century. Early in this century nearly half of this had been reclaimed, but a great proportion of the remainder is irreclaimable, except as land for the growth of coniferous trees. Stevenson considered that 48,000 acres were no good, but that 17,400 acres might be cultivated with advantage. He selects the Holmwood Common, among other places, as particularly fit for corn-growing with proper cultivation.





CHAPTER XXIII.

SOCIAL LIFE AND RECREATION.

THE amount of waste land naturally encouraged a more or less lawless and unsettled population in Surrey—the “stubborn and uncivil people” living in woods, of whom Norden speaks. On the heaths especially, from near Dorking to the borders of Hampshire and Berkshire, the people were rough and untaught, far from their parish churches as a rule, with formerly few or no resident gentry among them, for the taste for picturesque residences only arises when such residences can be readily brought within touch of civilization. They were wholly given over to irregular means of livelihood. They were the real representatives of the “stout vagabonds” whom Elizabeth’s Government found near the borders of Surrey and Sussex, and impressed for soldiers. Charcoal-burning, broom-making, turf-cutting, poaching in all its branches, shooting, fishing, snaring and smuggling eked out their living, with the proceeds of a husbandry which barely sufficed for such a purpose. About the Holmwood Common was one desperate gang or settlement of squatters. It is said that when even this neighbourhood became too hot for one of their number he would migrate for a while to Ashdown Forest beyond East Grinstead, and that similarly refugees from that country came to the Holmwood. On the old bridle-road, now supposed to be passable for carriages,

which goes up Boar Hill from Dorking, Robbing Gate marks the character of the district. On the left-hand side coming out of Dorking two criminals hanging in chains on the gallows between Sandy Cross and Harrow Road suggested to travellers that two being disposed of was no argument that no more of the kind survived. They were there for some time in the earlier part of the last century; perhaps they were replaced from time to time. A similar ghastly ornament with three bodies stood by the Portsmouth Road on Hindhead at the end of the last and the beginning of the present centuries. Bagshot Heath also had always on it such a monument of justice and the need of it. Bagshot Heath, indeed, traversed by the road from the South-west to London, was one of the most notorious neighbourhoods for mounted highwaymen round London. According to Aubrey, Egham parish had paid more on account of robberies committed in it, chiefly on this road, than had any other parish in England. About Norwood a gang of gipsies pilfered and cheated, and on one occasion at least robbed and murdered, till within living memory. Gipsy Hill retains their name. About Holmbury and Ewhurst Hills the population was of the worst type of the Heath-men, or the Heathers, pronounced as *heathen*—which they were in fact, dwellers on the heaths—not like the plant *Erica*. The word survives as a surname. If a sheep stolen from a farm in more settled neighbourhoods were traced in this direction, pursuit was given up; all the people would, it was known, hang together to conceal the theft and the criminals.

Smuggling, too, was common. Cargoes were run upon the coast, and hidden in convenient places near the South Downs. Thence they were brought on horses another stage of their journey to the Surrey hills, and concealed there till they could be brought on to London. There are still cottages with big cellars running under the sand-hills, intended for the storage of smuggled goods. The writer had the pictures of "Guy Mannering" called up vividly before him by the story of a very old man who told him how he as

a child remembered his father holding open a gate that thirty men on horseback, with kegs of brandy behind them, might ride through. This was in the war-time, when French brandy came across the Channel in large row-boats on calm, foggy nights. The same informant mentioned the grandfather of this or that respectable neighbour as having known something of contraband trade. A friend with whom he had worked had been witness of a scene when a turnpike keeper had boldly refused to let armed smugglers through at night, and they had turned with their horses across the fields. A naval cutlass picked up in a field under Leith Hill some twenty years ago may be a relic of some forgotten affray of those days. Free or more free trade of course killed smuggling, even without the aid of the general advance of the forces of law and order. The county police, even without railways and telegraphs, killed highway robbery of the old kind. The desire now is to retain as much as possible of the wilder aspect of the country, and to prevent the wastes being further enclosed. They are wanted as playgrounds.

The tastes and ideals of ages alter. Probably we are not more frivolous than our ancestors, but we are far more closely crowded, and the facilities for movement are much greater. Consequently we value the possession of accessible playgrounds, and open spaces where they can still be found. The Englishmen of three generations ago had open spaces usually at their doors, and did not value large and distant commons as such, but would have preferred to see them growing wheat, when wheat was 100 shillings a quarter. But as a consequence of the growth of population in and about London, and of the invention of railways whereby the population can move, Surrey has entered upon the latest phase of its existence, as the country suburb of London and the best suburban playground.

The northern parts of the county had assumed this character long ago, when Richmond, Oatlands and Nonsuch, as royal residences, had set the fashion of living out

of town. Still earlier the Archbishop at Lambeth, and the Bishop of Winchester at Southwark, had enjoyed a *rus in urbe* by living on the Surrey side. But probably the real discovery of Surrey by the world of fashion in London was owing to the opening and popularity of Epsom Wells.

The "taking of the waters" was a fashionable cure for those who could afford it, before the seventeenth century even. But England was not supposed to possess medicinal springs for drinking. The Bath waters were certainly known as medicinal for bathing, and probably many places had a local reputation. But the discovery in 1618 of the Epsom Wells,¹ so near to London, sufficiently marked in their medicinal action and sufficiently nasty to command faith, made a new departure for England, and started our first great and fashionable watering-place. A shed to cover the drinkers in the rain, and a fence round the well to keep off cattle, which, however, refuse to drink the water, were sufficient accommodation at first. But Epsom salts became famous. The preparation from the water was conveyed abroad even, and strangers flocked to the place. Tunbridge Wells had meanwhile sprung into notoriety, but Epsom was the more frequented. In 1690 Mr. Parkhurst, Lord of the Manor, built an assembly-room, planted an avenue of elms leading from the well to the London Road, and otherwise beautified the spot. Lodging-houses sprang up for the accommodation of the numerous visitors, who came from the Continent sometimes as well as from London and the whole of England, to drink the waters, and to enjoy cock-fighting, dancing, gambling, horse-racing and rustic sports, such as cudgel-playing, foot-racing and catching a pig by the tail. Prince George of Denmark was a frequent visitor to Epsom. As early as 1684 the *London Gazette* had announced that the post would go daily to Epsom during the season for the

¹ Aubrey says that they were found about 1639-40; he drank of them in 1654. Manning and Bray say 1618, and that a shed was built at the wells in 1621, a fact not likely to be invented. Lord North in 1645 wrote of them as already famous, which favours the earlier date.

drinking of the waters—that is, in the earlier summer, for our ancestors were not guilty of the modern folly of turning the sweetest country months into the London season.

The first blow dealt at Epsom was given by an advertising quack. A Dr. Levingstone started a rival well, nearer to Epsom village, built an assembly-room and a sort of bazaar of shops for fancy goods, opened a gambling saloon, and puffed his waters as the real curative Epsom waters. People deserted the old well for the new, having better amusements provided for them, and not caring for the fact that the new water was like any other, or perhaps preferring it so. But there was a residuum of visitors who really desired medicinal waters, and they soon complained that the new well was useless. Dr. Levingstone then managed to get the old well into his hands, buying a lease of it, apparently, and locked it up, so as to attract all the company to his assembly-rooms and shops. Like other quacks, he knew how to advertise himself through charity, and he presented land for the building of an almshouse for twelve widows. But he reckoned too securely on the influence of mere pleasure-seeking. Epsom began to be deserted, and Tunbridge Wells flourished. About 1730 Cheltenham was discovered as a watering-place. The lease which Levingstone had bought expired in 1727. The old well was then reopened, the original rooms near it repaired, and the place restarted as a medicinal resort. But competitors had arisen; moreover, Epsom salts themselves could be found, and manufactured, elsewhere. Still, Epsom had a certain amount of popularity again, and annual horse-races, from 1730 onwards, helped to keep it alive.

The second great blow came from a general change of fashion. In 1753 Dr. Richard Russell may be said to have invented sea-bathing. The new panacea was eagerly pursued, and the inland watering-places correspondingly neglected. Even as late as the days of Cowper the poet, the new fashion of sea-bathing could be referred to by him. But the fashion was at all events fatal to Epsom. It was

no longer frequented, and in 1804 the assembly-rooms, and other fashionable surroundings of the well, were pulled down. Few modern visitors to Epsom know where it is, even. It does not lie on the only side of the place which they frequent, towards the downs. But some half a mile south-west of the town, on Epsom Common, not far from the joint London, Brighton and South Coast and London and South-Western Railway line to Letherhead, on the left-hand side going to London, the old Epsom well still exists, as efficacious and as unpalatable as when it was drunk of by Prince George of Denmark, or as when the gentlemen of the Court of King Charles II. flirted with the Surrey country girls round it.

The races at Epsom were run for the entertainment of the visitors to the well, and became an annual meeting at the time when the effort was being made to revive the old popularity of the place. But they had first come into existence before the well was discovered. The chalk downs had offered an ideal place for the sport of running horses, as it was called. James I. had ridden over from Nonsuch to witness races there. A race-meeting there was evidently a matter of course in 1648.

Morden's map of Surrey, of the seventeenth century, marks "the Race" on Banstead and Epsom Downs. It is hard to fix a locality very precisely from Robert Morden's maps, but this course, quite three miles and a half long and quite straight, seems to begin north-west of Banstead village, and finishes about in the neighbourhood of the winning-post of the present course. It probably was four miles long, for the races of 1730 and succeeding years were run in four-mile heats. The company used to witness two or three heats, and then returned to the wells to dine in the middle of the day, and came up again for some more heats in the afternoon. Toland, writing in 1711, speaks of the old four-mile course from north-east to south-west, and of the "new orbicular race," which apparently means the present racecourse, which must have been laid out just

previously. Upon it the whole of the running was visible, on the old course the finish only. On the "orbicular" course a four-mile heat meant rather over twice round.

The Oaks was founded in 1779, and the Derby in 1780, and both were named in honour of the Earl of Derby, who then resided at the Oaks. Almost at once, from the then novel method of early nomination to the sweepstakes and the value of the prize, the Derby became a great event in the racing world. Up to about 1828 it was run for on the Thursday in the Epsom Summer Meeting, which was held in the week before Whitsuntide. There was a second meeting in October. A Hunters' Meeting, six weeks before the Summer Meeting, existed in 1730, and has probably continued ever since as the Epsom Spring Meeting. Mad-cap won the chief prize at the Hunters' Meeting in 1730, and is apparently the earliest recorded name of an Epsom winner. In 1828 the company was formed for building the grand-stand, and early in the thirties the race was run on Wednesday, as it is still. The extraordinary popularity of the Derby, and the strange craze which lifted a horse-race, with opportunities of gambling, into a kind of national festival, seems to date from the days of the Regency. The *furor* probably reached its height about Hermit's year, 1867, and received a blow through the Lady Elizabeth fiasco of 1868. The gigantic gambling and doubtful practices of that era, in fact, staggered the faith of many people in the wisdom of allowing the Derby to be regarded as our typical festal day. Judging by the attendance, it is less popular than it used to be with reputable people. The crowd is greater than ever, but the facilities for reaching the course are immensely increased, and the population within reach of it is immensely greater. But the Derby afternoon no longer sees the streets of the West End of London nearly empty. Even the joke that they are empty is no longer plausible. Twenty years hence it will seem incredible that the House of Commons used to adjourn for the Derby; twenty years ago it seemed a matter of course that it should do so. Yet

the practice is only as old as what may be called the Palmerston and Derby period. Probably nothing has contributed more to the social annexation of Surrey by London than Epsom Races have done.

But regarded as a playground, Surrey has other claims to distinction besides being the county of the Derby. It is one of the group of four counties—Hampshire, Sussex, Kent and Surrey—in which scientific cricket originated. Though Dr. Grace has found somewhere a record of the boys of Guildford School playing cricket in the reign of Elizabeth, and though other still earlier notices have been found of something called "crickett," it is impossible to decide whether the game was really the same. Any game with a crooked bat might be so called. A sort of embryo cricket, for instance, still exists in Surrey villages, played like the medieval stool-ball, with a round disc on the top of a pole for a wicket. This may be of the genus of cricket, but it is not the same game. The distance of a rood, 22 yards, between the wickets suggests that the game was evolved in the common fields, where the turf balks between the plough-lands were this distance apart, and that the primitive cricketer bowled full pitches across the furrows. But it was the numerous commons of Surrey and the other South-eastern counties which developed the game. In the earlier half of the eighteenth century there are notices of matches in these counties, and near London. In 1736 the gentlemen of London played those of Mitcham at the latter place, and beat them. In 1737 the combined forces of London and Surrey were beaten by Kent at Kennington Common, the Prince of Wales being the backer of the former, Lord Sackville, afterwards the famous cricketing Duke of Dorset, of the latter. Great matches were always then played for money. Mitcham Common, Kennington Common, Moulsey Hurst, and Holt Pound near Farnham, on the extreme border of Surrey towards Hampshire, were the noted places for matches in Surrey. But the real history of modern cricket begins with the formation

of the Hambledon Club, at Hambledon in Hampshire, not Hambledon in Surrey, in 1750. It is said to have been the first regular club, and it is apparent that regular rules upon several points of the game were elaborated for the first time under its influence—that, for instance, regulating the width of the bat, and probably that on leg-before-wicket. Their scores were kept by notches cut on sticks, something like the primitive tallies of the Exchequer. The writer has seen the method in use by boys on a Surrey common.

The Hambledon Club played on Broad Halfpenny Down and Windmill Down, Hampshire, as their home grounds, and it is written in Nyren's "Cricketers' Guide" how they repeatedly beat All England. But though locally a Hampshire club, Hambledon was sufficiently near to Sussex and Surrey to draw recruits from both. The Hambledon men, if not the club itself, often played on Holt Pound. It is a cricket-ground still, but the old Hambledon grounds in Hampshire are cultivated now. Of their most famous players, William Beldham and John Wells were Farnham men, Tom Walker was from Hindhead, and Richard Francis also was from Surrey. Stevens, the most famous bowler of 1770-80, was a Surrey man. If Kent sometimes rivalled Hambledon, and rose at last to the position of playing All England, it was because the Duke of Dorset tempted away many of the best Hampshire, Sussex and Surrey men into Kent, to join his local forces.

The last great match recorded of Hambledon was when they just succumbed to twenty-two of Middlesex in 1791. Surrey, including some of the Hambledon players, beat All England in 1794, and, from the score, appear to have exercised the supposed modern innovation of closing their second innings with only five wickets down. Surrey again beat England in 1796, and in 1808 three times; but the great race of her earlier players were passing away. Beldham, indeed, who scored 72 and 102 against England in 1794—extraordinary scores for the days of unmade grounds—only died, over ninety, in 1862. But though cricket

continued to be played on every village green in Surrey, the county as such had no great distinction in the game for thirty or forty years after the period of the breaking up of the collection of leading players who had supported the Hambledon Club. Mitcham was a great centre of cricket, and there were several suburban clubs, but there was no county club till 1844. In that year it was started, and played its first match on Kennington Oval in 1845. At first its strength was largely drawn from rural Surrey. The Dorking men, who played on Cotmandene, furnished many of its leading players. Caffyn, who first taught the Australians to play cricket, was a Dorking player. But the growth of clubs near London, and the greater variety of practice there attainable, have made the Surrey eleven to consist chiefly of those who are in fact Londoners, or those attracted to London from other counties. The overwhelming influence of the great city on her borders is felt even in the games of Surrey. But regarded as an influence for good in promoting character, cricket works in rural Surrey irrespective of who may represent her at the Oval. The Surrey commons have done good service in promoting a love for a game which has a use beyond mere healthy exercise.

Another result of the size of the commons in Surrey, and the proximity of this open land to London, has been to make it in these latter days the scene of military exercises.

The Volunteer movement of 1860 has, of course, been specially noticeable in Surrey in its results, because all the Volunteer forces, and others who have cultivated rifle practice, have found in Surrey their two successive meeting-places for competition at Wimbledon and at Bisley. The county of open spaces, near London, has found yet another use made of them, and, as usual, the use has resulted in a further invasion of London influence.

Volunteer camps and rifle-shooting, however, are not the chief military feature of modern Surrey. When the revival of the French Empire, and the action of Russia in the East, revived the fear of European war, a camp of exercise

was determined upon for the practical training of officers and men of the regular army. Chobham Ridges were selected in 1853 as offering a good site, with open country and convenient access from Windsor and from London. The camp at Chobham was thought a great deal of as a new departure in military training. Spectators came in crowds to see the sham fights, and to watch the infantry advancing in that magnificent line-formation in which, a few months later, they went up the hills above the Alma. The calls of serious work elsewhere suspended the field operations on Surrey commons. But the experience of Chobham, and of the war that followed, showed the advantage of a camp of the kind, and Aldershot was pitched upon as the permanent military station. The formerly desolate heaths on the borders of Surrey and Hampshire have quickly become covered not only by the huts of the soldiers, but by towns of non-combatants. All over the neighbourhood wars, sanguinary in imagination, are continually being waged. No part of Surrey is free from the alarms and excursions of modern war. Enterprising military students practise signalling, heliographing and telegraphy, study topography, and arrange instructive operations with skeleton armies on the hills. Troops march to and from Aldershot. The guns there on a field day can be heard half across the county. In the eastern parts the right wind brings up the sound of heavy firing from Shoeburyness. In the south-west the sea-breezes, which can be smelt on Leith Hill, carry the distant thunder from the guns near Portsmouth.

One recommendation of Surrey as the home of military training is that it lies on the road between Portsmouth and London, and between London and the sea. Intimate acquaintance with the face of the country might not be useless to an officer. On the same line, across the county where the medieval castles stood, fortifications of a different type are preparing. Not, of course, upon the sites of Guildford, Betchworth, Reigate and Blechingley Castles,

but serving the same purpose as they, securing a hold upon the lines of communication, which run in the main as they ran of old, whether they be roads or railways. The imaginary Battle of Dorking, with which an able military writer agitated the now middle-aged generation in 1871, telling how the German army drove the Volunteers off the slopes below Denbies, can never, happily, come to pass, other reasons put on one side, when a fort armed with heavy guns crowns Boxhill. But in certain eventualities Surrey might become the scene of an event making the ears of all that hear of it to tingle, and dwarfing into insignificance every historical event which has happened upon her soil, even the signing of Magna Charta. For it is a greater thing that a country should exist, than that it should be governed in a certain way. But this is only what might conceivably be. The true military frontier of England is not upon the Surrey hills, nor in any English county.

We have been continually compelled to deal with Surrey in some relation to London: as guarding London, assailing London, dependent upon London, or influenced and used by London. The great city, as we have seen, may have been the cause of the existence of the county as a separate district. It has sapped its individuality and local character, and threatened its existence ever since it came into existence. The great town of Surrey, upon her great river the Thames, has been taken from her. Southwark, and the surrounding towns, long ago an East Saxon and a Mercian conquest, were further coveted by medieval citizens, and finally swallowed up by an all-devouring London. Consequently, when the Local Government Act of 1889 set up County Councils, and was supposed to restore local life and interest to counties, it was found that Surrey had no centre left, seeing that the county of London extended south of the Thames. Guildford was no doubt the county town, but, in the face of such immensely greater urban importance on the borders of the county, it had not been able to maintain itself as a real capital. It was not the place to

which Surrey people naturally went for business or for amusement: London was that.

When the questions were asked, What place is most readily accessible from all parts of Surrey? Where could the county representatives most conveniently come together? only one answer was really possible—London. The old home of the Quarter Sessions in Newington, or some new place half-way between London Bridge and Waterloo Stations, accessible by all three county lines—the South-Eastern Railway, the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway and the South-Western Railway—would be the central place for Surrey. This is the neighbourhood, indeed, where St. Mary Overie stands, ready to be the accessible ecclesiastical centre of a reunited county, when it shall have escaped from association with West Kent, and shall have reluctantly given up its ancient West Saxon ecclesiastical allegiance for an independence of its own. But for civil purposes her natural centre was made impossible for the county by the aggrandizement of London. The newer neighbourhoods put in their claims. Croydon, a growth of the last century, Redhill, a creation of yesterday, were talked of. Letherhead did not consider that her alleged position as capital before Henry III.'s reign gave her a claim, though Letherhead is geographically not very far from the middle of the county. Guildford had undoubted claims by prescription, and by position on three lines of railway. But the true centre, London, being impossible, the choice fell on Kingston as the seat of the new governing body of the county. If in some ways the choice is a new departure, yet it is fitting that the government of Surrey, a part of the West Saxon kingdom and bishopric, should sit in an ancient crowning-place of West Saxon Kings, in a town perchance named after the residence there of Under-Kings of Surrey.



SOME BOOKS ON SURREY.

THE standard County History of Surrey is MANNING AND BRAY, 3 vols., folio, London, 1814. All interested in the county will always owe a great debt of gratitude to the authors for their wealth of genealogical and antiquarian information. Putting aside, however, trifling slips, we may remember that the general history of England has been pretty nearly entirely rewritten since their days, and the whole sciences of archæology and etymology recast. Where their work, therefore, touches upon the political history of England, it constantly requires correction; and where it touches upon general, social or even legal history, it may do so. Their etymologies are prehistoric. Their manorial history, however, is invaluable.

BRAYLEY, *History of Surrey*, 5 vols., quarto, London, 1841, etc., by Edward Brayley, assisted by John Britton, is in general inferior to Manning and Bray. The introductions and special chapters are rewritten, without conspicuous improvement upon their predecessors, except in the case of the chapter on Geology by Dr. Mantell. This was good for 1841, but is of course superannuated. The history is to a great extent founded on Manning and Bray, as it must be, since it follows the same lines of treatment and the former work had been so thoroughly done, but it is less full. The work appealed to subscribers at the time of issue by giving plates and descriptions of modern gentlemen's houses, which possess now very little interest for others than those who live in them.

ALLEN, *History of Surrey and Sussex*, 2 vols., octavo, London, 1829, is from its size necessarily brief, but is well arranged, omits much uninteresting matter which swells Brayley's history, and is more correct on the whole in its references to general history. It

devotes much more space to Surrey than to Sussex. For topographical information it goes largely to Aubrey. The Surrey part was republished separately in 1831. It contains a bibliography of county history.

AUBREY, *The Natural History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*, 5 vols., octavo, London, 1719, derives its great interest from the fact that it is the result of an actual perambulation of the county by Aubrey, begun in 1673 systematically, and carried on for twenty years. The author had personally known many parts of Surrey for many years previously. He was a painstaking inquirer, a learned man and an acute observer. Many ancient remains were in far better preservation in his time than in those of later historians of the county. He saw, for instance, the Roman or ancient remains at Woodcote, much of Chertsey Abbey and some of Blechingley Castle, and much more of Waverley Abbey than now exists. The Surrey iron-works are only not described in detail by him because he knew them as an existing industry familiar to everybody. That he was inclined to be a superstitious gossip makes his history the more amusing. A new edition of Aubrey, with annotations, would be a useful object for the County Archæological Society to undertake.

SALMON, *Antiquities of Surrey, with some Account of the Present State and Natural History of the County*, octavo, London, 1739, is a kind of inferior Aubrey, partly taken from him, and of no great value.

SHOBERL, *The Beauties of England and Wales*, London, 1812. Vol. xiv. contains Surrey and Sussex, and gives a short and reasonable account of the former, based chiefly upon the first volume of Manning and Bray's history, which had appeared before the publication of this volume.

Two important historical works have been written in Surrey, but with only incidental reference to events in the county. They are :

I. *The Annals of Waverley*, published in the Rolls Series in vol. ii. of LUARD's *Annales Monastici*. They treat of history from the Christian era to A.D. 1291 as it presented itself to some Cistercian monks of Waverley. The writer, who deals with John's reign, is full of information, and from about 1219 to 1266 the account is clearly contemporaneous and of value. From 1266 to 1291 it is apparently merely a copy of the Winchester Annals.

II. EVELYN's *Diary*, the diary of John Evelyn of Sayes Court,

Deptford, and of Wotton House, Surrey. It contains a record of events during his life from 1620 to 1706, but is not, of course, an actual diary, nor even apparently written strictly contemporaneously with the events for a considerable part of that time. Edited by Bray, London, 1818, etc. The Diary, Life and Letters have been republished since, more than once.

The general history and antiquities of the county are illustrated in many ways by the collections of the Surrey Archæological Society, and also incidentally by those of the Sussex Archæological Society, many of the papers in which have some bearing on Surrey persons and things.

THE BRITON AND THE ROMAN.

British and Roman Surrey are treated of in CAMDEN'S *Britannia* and HORSLEY'S *Britannia Romana*, works which, however largely supplemented, or even superseded, by later discoveries, can never lose a certain value.

GUEST, *Origines Celticae*: a collection of essays and papers by the late Dr. Guest, Master of Caius College, Cambridge, upon, *inter alia*, the Belgic settlements in Southern Britain, Cæsar's invasion and passage of the Thames, the invasion by Aulus Plautius, and, further, the early English conquests and the West Saxon boundaries.

SIR GEORGE AIREY, *Cæsar's and Claudius' Invasions of Britain*, London, Nichols and Son, 1865. By the late Astronomer Royal, bearing upon Roman military movements in Surrey.

PROFESSOR RHYS, *Celtic Britain*, octavo, London, S.P.C.K., 1884. REV. PREBENDARY SCARTH, *Roman Britain*, octavo, London, S.P.C.K., 1886. These two are brief collections of the latest knowledge in their respective subjects, the former by a very eminent specialist.

ELTON, *Origins of Early English History*, 1882, discusses general questions which affect Surrey, among other counties, in the period before and during the Roman occupation.

R. NEVILL, *Early Settlements in West Surrey*, Guildford, 1889.

ANCIENT ROADS IN SURREY.

CAPTAIN JAMES, R.E., *Notes on the Pilgrims' Way in West Surrey*, Guildford, 1871.

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by MR. GRANVILLE LEVESON-GOWER, London, 1869, and the *Appendix* to DEAN STANLEY'S *Memorials of Canterbury*, may be consulted.

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The history of Surrey under West Saxon, Mercian and again West Saxon overlordship has never been adequately treated as a whole.

THE DOMESDAY SURVEY.

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SIR HENRY ELLIS, *Introduction to Domesday Book*.

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F. W. MAITLAND, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, three essays published at Cambridge, 1897.

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THE EARLS OF SURREY AND DE WARRENNE.

WATSON'S *Memorials of the Earls of Surrey and De Warrenne*. Very full and laborious, if not altogether critical; very rare; preserved in the British Museum, Bodleian and Middle Temple Libraries.

FREEMAN, *Norman Conquest*, vol. iii., Appendix Q: on the daughters of the Conqueror, refuting the idea that Gundrada Countess de Warrenne was William's daughter.

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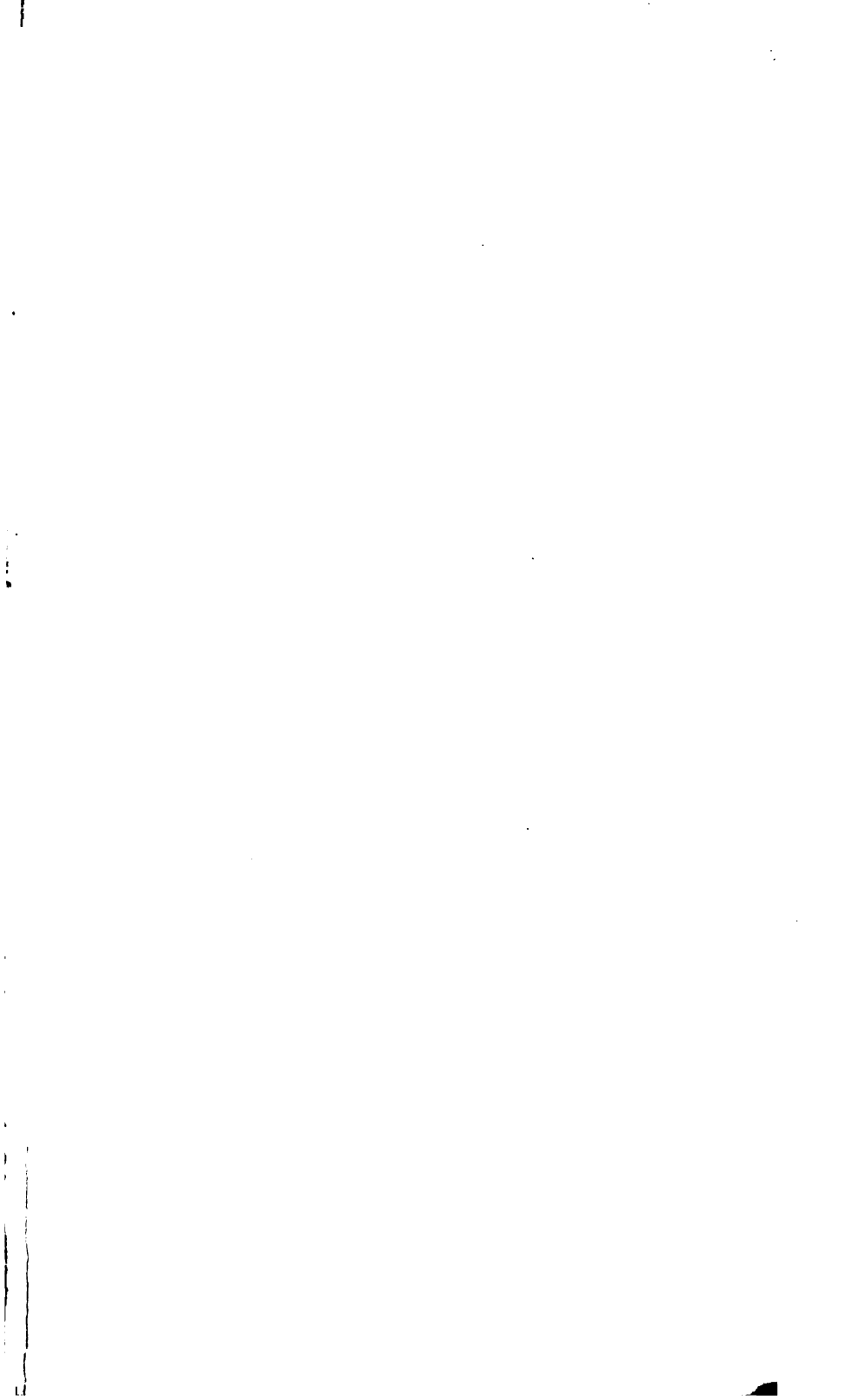
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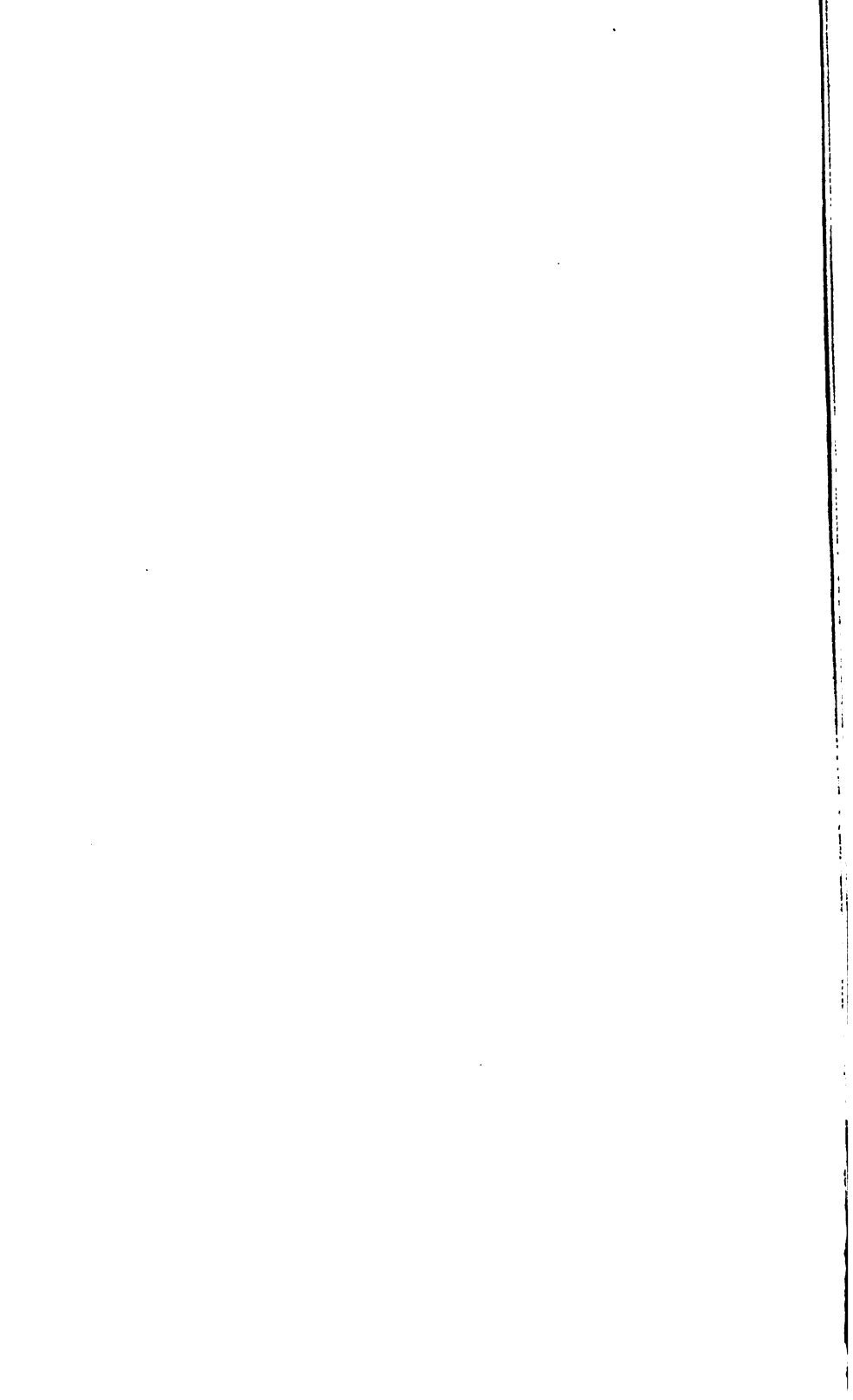
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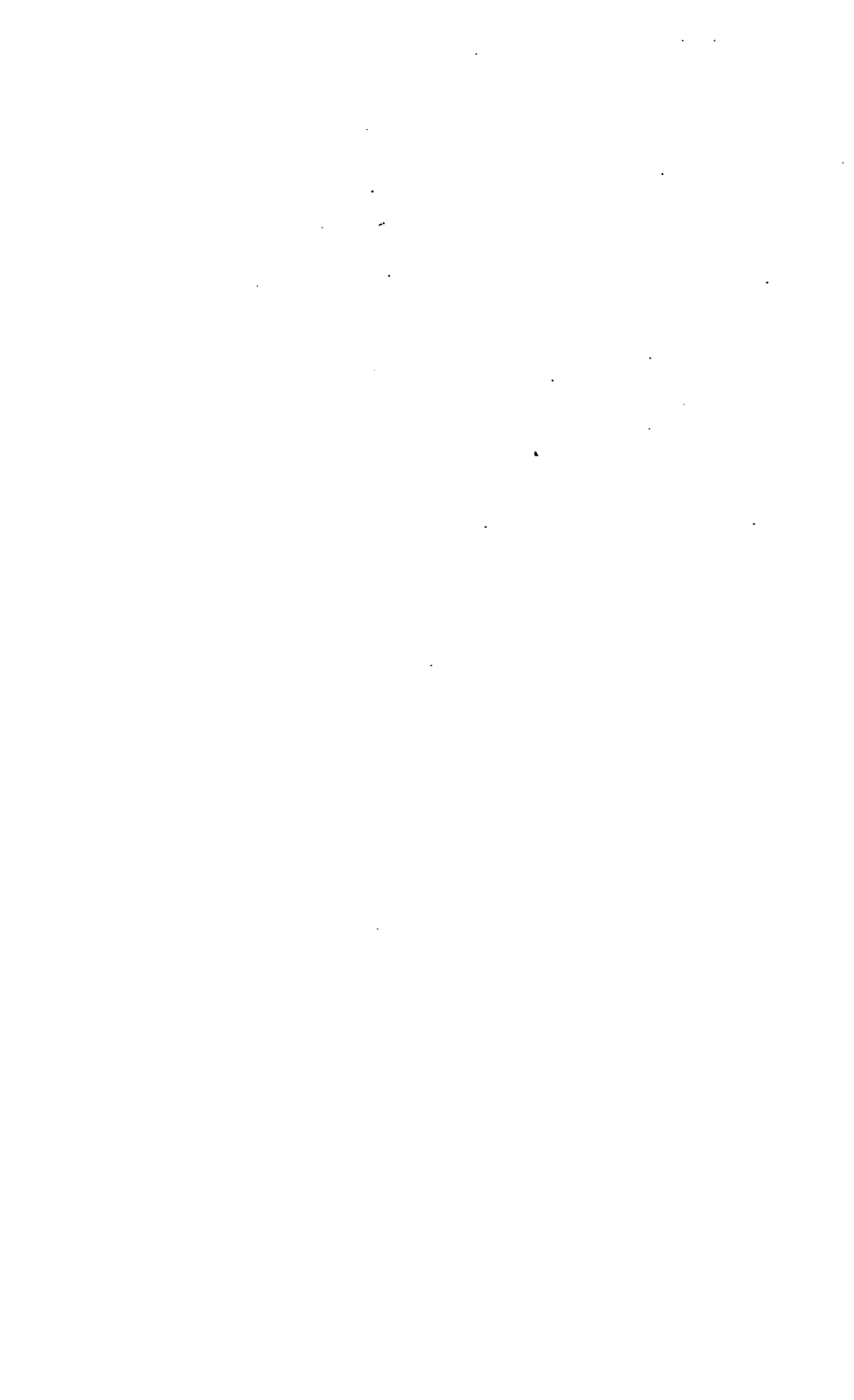
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